DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 024 790 VT 006 327

Manpower Development and Training in Correctional Programs. MDTA Experimental and Demonstration Findings No. 3.

Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
Pub Date 68
Note- 189p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$9.55
Descriptors- *Adult Vocational Education, Agency Role, Conference Reports, *Correctional Education, Educational Problems, *Educational Programs, *Employment Programs, *Federal Programs, Information Dissemination, Job Placement, Legislation, Participant Characteristics, Prisoners, Program Administration, Program Evaluation, Rehabilitation Counseling, Speeches
Identifiers- *Manpower Development Training Act Programs, MDTA Programs

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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MDTA
EXPERIMENTAL AND
DEMONSTRATION
FINDINGS NO. 3

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING IN CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS,

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Willard Wirtz, Secretary
3 MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION (DOL),
Stanley H. Ruttenberg,
Manpower Administrator
Washington, D.C.

FOREWORD

For many years the inmates of our penal institutions have been a neglected human and manpower resource. This has been true despite the fact that nearly all prison inmates return to free society and will continue to do so. Approximately 100,000 are released each year from State and Federal prisons.

These men--and a few women--generally have poor education, few job skills, and poor work habits. This was true of them before they entered prison. It is true of them when released, for almost nothing has been done for them during imprisonment to remedy their situation. They are ill-fitted for return to free world economic life. One-third of those released every year return to crime and a new cycle of imprisonment.

The capabilities of title I of the Manpower Development and Training Act have been used for several years to fund experimental and demonstration projects for the prerelease training of prisoners. Testing, counseling, prevocational and vocational training have been given to prisoners while in the institution, and they have been placed in jobs following their release. Halfway houses have been tested, follow-up support has been provided, and programs to initiate family and community support have been developed.

This experimental and demonstration effort has accomplished its mission. It has demonstrated the feasibility of giving competent training and job placement. In a variety of locales and in different types of penal institutions, an observable experience of how to do it has been gained. There is evidence that effective manpower training also aids in prisoner rehabilitation and reduces the return to crime. A base has been laid for expanded activity in the regular training programs of State and Federal agencies and institutions.

I am pleased to take this opportunity to congratulate the project personnel, the correctional officials, pardon and parole boards, and all others who cooperated in these demonstrations. I am pleased also to recommend the reading of these "Proceedings" of a series of regional conferences to disseminate their experience and accomplishments.

Curtis C. Aller

Curtis C. Aller
Associate Manpower Administrator

PREFACE

Four conferences on Manpower Development and Training in Correctional Institutions were sponsored by the Manpower Administration to bring together the basic groups of people charged with responsibility in prisoner rehabilitation, and to disseminate to them the significant results of experimental, demonstration, and research projects engaged in prerelease manpower training for prisoners. The full report of the first conference plus significant sections of the three later conferences are reprinted here as part of the series of monographs on MDTA Experimental and Demonstration Findings published by the Manpower Administration.

Suggestions, recommendation, or opinions expressed in the proceedings are those of the individuals involved. They do not constitute commitments on the part of their organizations, nor do they necessarily represent the official position or policy of the U.S. Department of Labor.

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INTRODUCTION

As part of a program of dissemination and utilization of the results of experimental and demonstration work in the area of manpower training of prison inmates, the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor funded a series of four regional conferences. These were carried out by the Rehabilitation Research Foundation, Inc., of Elmore, Alabama, one of the prime contractors for a prisoner-training project. The Rehabilitation Research Foundation, Inc., managed a southeastern regional conference in Montgomery, Alabama. It was joined by various co-sponsors for the other conferences, as follows: The University of Houston at Houston, Texas, in the southwest; the Louis Wakoff Research Center in Staten Island, New York, in the northeast; and the Department of Criminology of the University of California at Berkeley, California, for the western states. The first conference took place in May 1967 and the final one was held in February 1968.

In addition to disseminating the results of experimental and demonstration work, the conferences were designed to reach decision-makers at State and local levels who would have to coordinate their activities to implement the projected national pilot program of prison inmate training under sec. 251 of the Manpower Development and Training Act. It is anticipated that this program will be launched by July 1, 1968. The conferences also were designed to produce substantive discussions of generic issues to be faced by all who engage in sec. 251 programs.

Most of the following papers were produced for the first conference and then used as discussion bases for those that followed. Significant additions from other conferences, however, have been included in the appendix. It is hoped that all will provide useful guides for counselors, remedial education teachers, skill training instructors, job development and placement personnel, and administrators who are and will be engaged in programs to give solid training in a rehabilitative context for public offenders, and thereby provide for their genuine restoration to society.

WELCOME

A. Frank Lee
Commissioner of Corrections
State of Alabama

Thank you very much, Dr. McKee. What our chairman John McKee didn't mention in introducing me was that I committed some money that we didn't have--about $3,500 to start this program at Draper, but some way we managed to "wiggle" through. That was a memorable afternoon for me, and I have never regretted having taken what some considered at that time to be a very foolish step. We have lived to see it progress. You know without my telling you that I am delighted that we are having the conference which is beginning here tonight and going on through the week.

I just might be the most overoptimistic person you ever met, regardless of how many people you may have met. I think that there is a stronger movement in corrections in Alabama today than in any State in the nation, more sincerity, more actually wanting to do things than I can recognize anywhere. I think when you have this kind of effort behind any type project it can do nothing but succeed.

The Board of Corrections wants progress; the Board of Corrections will have nothing but progress; they are in a position to see that progress comes, because they operate under the most independent board system in America--there is none other like it. We have very definite plans for this department for the next five years, and we have many, many plans for the next ten years. By virtue of the fact that we operate under a board, we enjoy continuity which enables us to plan.

I wish I had time to tell you of all the progress we have made, insignificant as it might look at the moment. The seed is planted, and before long it will be up. Alabama is well on the way. We were well recognized for this fact last August in Chicago, I believe it was, where we asked that the American Congress of Corrections be held in Alabama for the first time ever. It will be held in Mobile in 1971. And without the effort that has been put forth by McKee and many other people that I cannot name tonight--members of the Board of Corrections, wardens, and employees--the American Correctional Association would not have given the first thought to coming to Alabama. They not only wanted to come to Alabama, they wanted to come next week, not in 1971. We beat out cities like Chicago, New York, Las Vegas. (I told the Las Vegas boy I hoped he won one sometime--I would like to fly up there.)

We are delighted to have you here, and I hope you will enjoy your stay during this conference. Thank you very much.

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Nat Wylie for
The Honorable Earl James, Mayor
Montgomery, Alabama

Thank you Dr. McKee. Ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure for me to be here tonight and to have the privilege of representing Mayor James in welcoming you to this conference. Mayor James had to leave town this afternoon, and he asked me to express his deep regret that he could not be here.

I have known of the Draper pilot program in the rehabilitation of young offenders for some time, and I am really impressed with its success. It is my understanding that nationwide, two out of three offenders are returned to prison, while in this program only one out of four are not successful. Also, knowing Frank Lee as I do, I am sure that his enthusiasm and interest have really helped you on your road to success in this project.

We here in Montgomery are having great success in our forward movement. From 78,000 citizens in 1940, our city today has passed 160,000 population. Our future appears very bright. In 1970, when the Jones' Bluff Dam is completed between here and Selma, we will be loading barges to ship produce and different things all over the world from our docks by Union Depot. By that time, too, our interstate system will be completed and industry will really be moving to Montgomery. Our financial consultants tell us, by the way, that Montgomery, upon completion of these two systems, will grow faster than Dallas, Texas, ever did. You can see that our mayor has a big job in preparing for this future.

I would like for you to look over our city while you are here. If you come back in three or four years, you won't be able to look it over because there will have been such growth that you won't be able to see all of it. I would like for you to enjoy yourself while you are here. If we down at City Hall can do anything to help make your stay a little more pleasant, we will be glad to help you out.

Again, I would like to express my pleasure in trying to fill the mayor's shoes, and my hope that you will return to Montgomery soon. Thank you.

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

William B. Hewitt
Chief, Division of Planning
Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. While I am most happy to be here and consider it a distinct honor to have the privilege of speaking to you at the opening of this very timely conference, I nonetheless feel something like Daniel in the Lion's Den. For corrections is your business; not mine. I am an interloper, not an expert in corrections, not a penologist, not a sociologist, not an educator. But since fools rush in where angels fear to tread, I, as an economist, will proceed.

The Problem: Corrections Do Not Correct

Last year the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice undertook a far-reaching investigation of America's system of criminal justice. Its Report, issued in February of this year, pointed to serious deficiencies in each of the system's major parts--the police, the courts, and corrections. About corrections the Report said:

> "The Correctional apparatus to which guilty defendants are delivered is in every respect the most isolated part of the criminal justice system. Much of it is physically isolated; its institutions usually have thick walls and locked doors, and often they are situated in rural areas, remote from the courts where the institutions' inmates were tried and from the communities where they lived. The correctional apparatus is isolated in the sense that its officials do not have everyday working relationships with officials from the system's other branches, like those that commonly exist between policemen and prosecutors, or prosecutors and judges. It is isolated in the sense that what it does with, to, or for the people under its supervision is seldom governed by any but the most broadly written statutes, and is almost never scrutinized by appellate courts. Finally, it is isolated from the public partly by its invisibility and physical remoteness; partly by the inherent lack of drama in most of its activities, but perhaps most importantly by the fact that the correctional apparatus is often used--or misused--by both the criminal justice system and the public as a rug under which disturbing problems and people can be swept."

The Report goes on to indicate that the most striking fact about today's correctional apparatus is that although the rehabilitation of criminals is presumably its major purpose, the custody of criminals is actually the major objective. In other words, it is still a penal system, not a corrections system!

On any given day there are over a third of a million people incarcerated in various American "lock-ups". An additional two-thirds of a million people are on probation or parole, where hopefully more "correction" is being applied. While the prisons and jails treat one-third of people in the "correctional apparatus", four-fifths of correctional money is spent there and nine-tenths of correctional employees work there. To make matters worse, fewer than one-fifth of the people who work in State prisons and local jails have jobs that are not essentially either custodial or administrative in character.

To quote the Report again, "What this emphasis on custody means in practice is that the enormous potential of the correctional apparatus for making creative decisions about its treatment of convicts is largely unfulfilled."

If I were to say that we are met here to change all this I could be laughed out of court. Yet, I think we can agree that we have come together because we understand the need for change, because we have the will to make changes, and some insights into how we might proceed. Every person here undoubtedly accedes to the Commission's statement that "The increasing volume of crime in America establishes conclusively that many of theold ways are not good enough. Innovation and experimentation in all parts of the criminal justice system are clearly imperative."

The Commission has also supplied us with a succinct statement of the problems faced by corrections and of prevailing conditions. Not only is corrections isolated from the mainstream of American life, but society has been traditionally reluctant to take a hard look at it. This is not surprising since the majority of the people with whom corrections deals--the uneducated, the irresponsible, the unpersonable, the misfits, the socially alienated.

Corrections consists of scores of different kinds of institutions and programs of great diversity in approach, facilities, and quality. It involves multiple and overlapping levels of government which together are responsible for approximately 1.3 million offenders at any one time. In the course of a year it handles nearly 2.5 million admissions, and spends over a billion dollars doing so. If all or even most of these people could be restored to the community as responsible citizens, America's crime rate would drop significantly. Moreover, not only would we save the billion dollars we now spend on locking people up, they would become income and tax producers rather than tax eaters. But as it is today, at least a third of all offenders -- and many more from some institutions -- become recidivists; they go on to commit more, and often more serious crimes.

We may conclude then that to a large extent correctional efforts are failing to correct. Indeed, in the words of the Crime Commission "experts are increasingly coming to feel that the conditions under which many offenders are handled, particularly in institutions, are often a positive detriment to rehabilitation . . . . (that) the conditions in which they (inmates) live are the poorest possible preparation for their successful reentry into society, and often merely reinforce in them a pattern of manipulation or destructiveness."

Assuming Federal, State, and Local Responsibility

As the President has said in his recent message to the Congress on *Crime in America*, in our democracy the principal responsibility for dealing with crime does not lie with the national government but with the States and local communities. Yet, as in the areas of education and public health, the Federal Government is paying increasing attention to its role in controlling crime. The President asserted that public order is the first business of government and that "crime and the fear of crime has become a public malady." Thus, the Federal Government must accept substantial responsibility, *augmenting* -- and I stress that concept-- *supplementing*, not replacing, State and local efforts.

Each of the agencies represented here has a particular vantage point from which it views the problems of corrections and certain resources to contribute to the process of changing and improving the ways of dealing with the problems. What those are will be illuminated as our meeting progresses. I should like to give you a Department of Labor perspective and place manpower development activities for inmates in the context of a total manpower policy.

President Johnson has said that the Nation's manpower policy is "based on belief in the value of the individual in a society in which every person has full opportunity to develop his or her earning powers, where no willing worker lacks a job, and where no useful talent lacks an opportunity." Inmates are, of course, individuals with innate personal worth. Moreover, we recognize that with rare exceptions they are only temporarily withdrawn from the work force. Thus for inmates, as for others, we see the ability to *do* a job and *access* to that job, as the key to playing a socially useful and individually satisfying role in society.

The eminent anthropologist Margaret Mead said recently, and I paraphrase slightly, "The trouble with slum dwellers is that they have been mistaught. They must be retaught! " What is true for "slum dwellers" is equally true for offenders against society.

In the broadest terms, the task before corrections is to change people's (offenders') behavior patterns; to get them to act differently, to live differently, and perforce to think differently and work differently.

People surely learn their behavior patterns -- not necessarily, albeit, in school. Behavior patterns are formed, and changed, by environmental conditioning, including of course, parental and peer group examples and formal education.

If we are serious about "correcting" offenders' behavior, we must articulate for them how we -- society -- expect them to behave. We must create an environment and apply programs that are intrinsically compatible with the end sought. The conditioning we apply must reinforce the behavior patterns set as the goal. In short, programs intended to "correct " must inculcate and reward the kind of behavior we seek.

Building on Research and Experimental Effort

In sponsoring the kind of experimentation being conducted at Draper Institute and in other research projects, and in planning for a large-scale pilot program of training and related services for inmates, we in the Labor Department are proceeding on the thesis that realistic job preparation and assistance will be a significant factor in the rehabilitation of offenders. We make no claim that such programs will wipe out recidivism or solve all the problems besetting corrections. We do believe, however, that a concerted effort to improve the employability of offenders, and bring to them the rewards in terms of income and self respect that accompany useful work, can make a significant contribution in many areas. The very act of organizing such services for offenders, under the leadership of Federal agencies in many instances, mounts an attack on some of the larger problems which have been identified -- problems such as the isolation of the criminal justice system from the community at large, the glaring inadequacy of personnel, especially in corrections, and the weakness of research programs. Certainly our efforts are conceived in the spirit demanded by the Crime Commission when it said . . . . "Officials of the criminal justice system must stop operating by tradition or rote. They must reexamine what they do . . .They must be willing to take risks in order to make advances. They must be bold."

The personnel running the Draper project have been bold and they have made advances. I am sure the same thing is true of the Rikers' Island, Lorton, and South Carolina projects about which we are going to hear. True, these undertakings have not been conducted by traditional correctional personnel, but they have been designed and carried forth with the cooperation of correctional administrators as well as many other groups. And this way of cooperation, we are beginning to appreciate, is the proper path for assuring fruitful outcomes. That is why we have come together, five public agency systems in six States along with Federal staff, to exchange information and accumulated knowledge and lay plans for future endeavors.

General Manpower Background and Philosophy of Federal Programs

Before closing I should like to discuss briefly some aspects of the national manpower scene which may help to set the stage for us. As you know, we have since the beginning of the decade enjoyed unprecedented sustained economic growth. Employment is at record levels, and the overall unemployment rate is at the lowest level since 1953--the period of the Korean conflict. Job opportunities have been brisk, and many job openings go unfilled for lack of trained, experienced manpower. To this extent conditions are propitious for providing to offenders occupational training realistically geared to manpower demands and to overcoming the traditional resistance of employers to hiring workers with "records."

At the same time, it has never been clearer that there are in this country literally millions of disadvantaged persons -- persons with special handicaps of low educational attainment, cultural deprivation, alienation -- who have profited very little from the general prosperity. I am sure you are familiar, at least in a general way, with the intent to deal with this critical situation which finds expression in the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, to name only some of the key pieces of legislation of recent years which are wholly or in part manpower oriented.

Insofar as solving the problems of offenders is a part of a much larger challenge to bring this disadvantaged segment of the total population into the mainstream of American life, the task may seem formidable. On the other hand there is a climate of opinion abroad that facilitates the task. There is recognition that the alleviation of poor social conditions through elimination of slums and ghettos and substandard education is a precondition to controlling crime. There is a new sensitivity to the value of training and basic education, of counseling and better job development and placement techniques in serving the disadvantaged, whether they are in or out of prison. There is new awareness of the necessity to experiment and innovate in order to find adequate ways of coping with social problems, and of guaranteeing people the right to take advantage of newly opening opportunities.

And so, we see that body of wasted human potentialities called "offenders" as one of several groups for whom our pursuit of an active manpower policy is most crucial. Our manpower policy may be succinctly stated as three fundamental goals:

-- to develop to the full the abilities of our people

-- to create jobs to make the most of those human abilities

-- to effectively match people and jobs

Realizing these goals with respect to people who have tended to be looked upon as pariahs will not be an easy task.

In passing let me observe that we, as members of a human and humane society, are not concerned solely with the resocialization of the occasional malfactor among us. We are deeply concerned to achieve an equitable restoration for our unfortunate members who fall victim to criminal behavior. But that is another subject and not the focus of this conference.

The Implications for Prison Inmate Training

Finally, you will perhaps be interested in the broad outline of what lies ahead in manpower trends as a frame of reference for planning manpower programs for inmates. Population trends assure continuing rapid growth of the labor force, at the rate of about 1.5 million a year to 1970 with more than a third of that growth concentrated among teenagers and young adults. We assume that a basically healthy economy will furnish enough jobs to hold unemployment to approximately the same proportions as at present.

On the basis of projections of manpower requirements prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and evaluation of the likely progress of new technologies by the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress the industrial structure of employment in the years ahead is likely to reflect an extension of the basic patterns which have been emerging since World War II. Between 1964 and 1975, farm employment will decline by 1 million while all other employment is increasing by some 19 million. Manpower requirements in the service sector -- trade, finance, government, personal services, and transportation and public utilities -- are expected to increase more than twice as fast as in the goods producing industries -- manufacturing, mining, and construction. Nevertheless, the latter should experience growth of about 17 percent over the period.

Occupational requirements of the economy may be expected to change substantially as a result of the differential growth rates of industries and changing modes of production stemming from technological progress. Concern has been expressed that employment opportunities for laborers and other unskilled workers will be drastically curtailed. In fact, say the experts, in absolute terms the overall demand for less skilled workers will remain about the same, although it will decline somewhat as a percent to total.

Over 3 million additional service workers will be required, and their share of total jobs will rise. The greatest increase in employment requirements will be for professional and technical workers. More than 4.5 million additional workers will be needed in these categories. The white-collar group as a whole is expected to expand by nearly two-fifths and constitute 48 percent of all manpower requirements by 1975.

These changes in occupational requirements have significant implications for certain groups in the labor force. For example, if nonwhite workers continue to hold the same proportion of jobs in each occupation as they did in 1964, the nonwhite unemployment rate in 1975 would be more than 5 times that for the labor force as a whole rather than approximately twice as high as it is at present. Even if the trend in upgrading the jobs of nonwhite workers continues at the same rate as the very real gains in recent years, the nonwhite unemployment rate in 1975 would still be about 2½ times that for the labor force as a whole. Thus, we not only have to do better than we have been doing, we must increase the rate of our improvement. Nonwhites must gain access to the rapidly growing higher skilled and white collar occupations at a much faster rate than in the recent past if their unemployment rate is to be brought down to the overall level. Likewise, the unsatisfactorily high rate of current youth unemployment will worsen unless utilization patterns change.

The implications for corrections are clear. If we expect men and women who have gotten into trouble -- for whatever the reasons -- to reform their errant ways and "go straight," we must provide to them the motivation, the education, and the opportunity to participate respectably in the working life of their Nation. As the changing job structure of the economy becomes ever more demanding of higher skills, so the preparation of all people for work must be elevated -- must become more sophisticated.

The challenging times in which we live and the nearness of our goal -- "to guarantee to every man an opportunity to unlock his own potential; to earn the satisfaction of standing on his own two feet," -- demand that we all give our very best to this quest.

Thank You.

ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF AN MDT PROGRAM

Dr. Howard A. Matthews
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Bureau of Adult, Vocational, and Library Programs, U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Introduction

The topic on which I was asked to speak today is "Administration Problems of an MDT Program." Let me be the first to admit that there are problems. It is difficult to achieve smooth administration of the MDTA. Nevertheless, I don't want to talk about the "mechanical" problems, proposals, the flow of cash, the unfamiliar line-item budget, the endless forms, the certification of need, the intricacies of applying, the channels of communication, etc. These and others are problems that can be worked out. Although some of you who have come up against the inflexibility of your budget may not agree, MDT is a flexible program. Budgets can be and have been revised to meet altered circumstances. We insist on strict adherence to the budget so we may be assured that we are receiving the services--that is, that we are getting the manpower training--we have contracted for. What I am saying is that we can solve the problems when they arise, whether at the federal, regional, state or local level.

Your particular field of interest at the moment is manpower training in correctional institutions. The pressing need for such programs is but one of the vexing problems of designing an educational system that will serve the needs of people in the years ahead, people whom, in many instances, we know little about. Ours is a time when children do not live in the same type of world in which they were born, nor will they die in the same type of world in which they grew up. Planning realistic programs of education in this rapidly changing complex is the real challenge of our times. We in MDT, concerned as we are with the people education hasn't served well or at all, have the opportunity and the obligation to be a real and active part of that planning and its implementation. It is about this that I want to talk to you today.

Problems of Education vs. Problems of Status

Often the real issues in education are hopelessly entangled with questions of status: the vocational schools seek academic recognition or some comparable insignia of respectability; teachers of the standard academic subjects fight for their pre-eminence; some advocates of an educable elite resent the infringement of mass education; those committed

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to the research ideal oppose expenditure of time on other disciplines or in the pursuit of other vocational goals. And all types of institutions compete for students and for popular support.

To a significant degree this struggle, like the disagreement among the writers on what to expect of tomorrow, has precipitated many ill-defined and untested terms and slogans that are now confusing and bewildering people. While within their own circles all educational groups are in disagreement over definitions, they continue to throw their vocabularies at each other as profoundly meaningful.

"General education," when viewed functionally, is not the opposite of "vocational education." The two are complementary and often are alike in kind differing only in purpose. Education functions vocationally when its purpose is the cultivation of skill in the actual performance of a previously determined task. If we continue to dissipate our energies as we do in some localities by arguing that general and vocational curricular offerings must be totally different and separately administered, we shall not be able to provide the 21st Century education we need now for adjusting to a rapidly changing economy. The conflict between the two functions is joined when concern for the one leads teachers and students to forget the importance of the other. What really concerns us, then, is education and its several functions, with its function and its purposes being consistent. Education and change, like electricity, are easier to define in terms of their effects while in motion than they are in terms of their actual composition.

Developing that 21st Century educational system for now--not tomorrow--is not easy. The processes of applying new techniques to our systems of education are not simple, since they require the overturning of antiquated procedures and methods. We must learn to design programs without regard for the conventional administrative (but not educational) conveniences of quarters, semesters, six-week or nine-week terms, carnegie units and quarter-hour and semester-hour formulas. We must learn to design differentiated curricula so that persons may exit at any time for employment or may progress to advanced school work without regard for the school calendar or the college catalogue.

Specific Suggestions For Change

The educational needs of our society can be met only through the development of extensive and superior education whether in nursery, the university, or the prison. Several specific suggestions come to mind as we contemplate the challenges of tomorrow.

1. To implement social change, all schools at all levels must be able to respond quickly and effectively to sudden technological changes. They must also provide educational experiences (no matter what label is put on them) which will assist people in making both long and short term adjustments to changing social economic conditions.

2. More active and more comprehensive educational planning by school officials in all types of school administrative units and by the leadership of the community must be nurtured. In our system of government, the people are sovereign and public institutions are operated on their behalf. The school people who are making a positive influence on such forces for change as automation are those who continually seek the advice of the public--of business, labor, management, agriculture, and other interested community forces. They are designing educational systems which are responsive to change and able to provide programs suited to the emerging needs of the community.

One of the most justified criticisms of our schools is that they fail to anticipate change and to take deliberate steps to prepare for it. Most of us, in spite of our word to the contrary, dislike change. We oppose it. Every improvement ever made was made reluctantly. Nothing new is ever practical, or possible, until someone with broader vision than our own does that which cannot be done, using methods that will not work.

3. Evaluation must be just as much a part of planning a new course or program as is the housing of it. We must ask ourselves how we know--really know--that our methods are achieving maximum results, and we must be able to redirect programs at any point in time our evaluations may suggest. Many teachers--particularly those on the post-high school level--not only do not know to what extent they are effective, they don't care. Results of tests of their own making, which reflect not what the students know, but what teachers think is important, plus other factors, prevent careful analysis. Actually, with crowded classrooms and waiting lists for the few empty chairs, they do not have to care.

The schools are not the only training agencies in society. But other agencies and organizations, labor unions and industry involved in apprenticeship programs and on-the-job training programs should, like the schools, be asking themselves questions. Is it possible, for instance, to accelerate certain apprenticeship programs or on-the-job training programs and to do in say three years what we are now convinced takes five? Some lessons we learned during and since World War II suggest that such things may indeed be possible.

4. Education must be available to individuals throughout their lives, or it falls short of meeting the measure of its existence. The ability to manage change--whether to keep up with new developments in a profession or to retool for a new job--requires that education be available when needed. Access to education governs the pace at which new knowledge can be absorbed, at which adjustments can be made to new technologies and at which solutions can be reached to related social, political and economic problems. The lifelong learning process is cast in both formal and informal learning situations. Learning occurs not only in the public school classroom, the extension course, and the lecture series; it also takes place informally through individual reading, television programs, instruction on the assembly line, and even at the coffee break. I know of one school district which has a planned educational program played on school bus radios.

A well balanced system of continuing public education must provide a comprehensive program of educational opportunity for persons with varying educational attainments in all areas of the state. The dropout must find a program which encourages re-entry to school, and the Ph. D. an opportunity to probe more deeply into a special field or to broaden his general background. Such possiblities require a system of education that is openended, with freedom for students to enter, to leave when alternative experiences seem more fruitful, and then to re-enter. Such a system can be a reality only through the coordinated efforts of public schools, community colleges, vocational schools, universities and employers. The educational process--beginning at the most basic levels--should also seek to impress upon the individual that he must assume more responsibility than he has for continuing self-education and self-renewal for meaningful adaptation to a changing environment.

5. There is a special need for more extensive and intensive educational opportunities for those adults whose basic education is deficient. Many of these people are virtually illiterate or otherwise seriously handicapped educationally.

About 30 million members of the present labor force are without high school diplomas and eight million have not completed the eighth grade. One-sixth of American youth cannot qualify for military service because they are unable to pass a seventh grade equivalency test. Many other indications of the need for adult education could be cited. Yet opportunities for adult basic education are few, and knowledge of how to overcome problems and how to teach adults is meager. There is need for the development of new approaches and techniques in this field.

Imaginative efforts, however, in some communities have shown that obstacles can be overcome. Many diffident, disadvantaged adults can be motivated through such things as carefully arranged field trips or excursions to museums, botanical gardens, businesses, and factories which interest them. Such visits can be an integral part of the instructional process.

In one Manpower Development and Training project in a large metropolitan area, one of the motivational experiences for adults was a trip to the botanical gardens. Afterwards the participants were asked to write a few simple sentences for the basic literacy class describing their impressions of the trip. One middle-aged lady in the class, who for the first time in her life realized that such places in the community were for people like her, told the story in one poignant sentence when she wrote, "Now I have some idea what the Garden of Eden was like."

6. Retraining should be expanded rapidly so that, as an interim goal, a significant percentage of the local labor force is retrained annually. The training provided thus far by the Manpower Development and Training Act has made an important contribution but MDTA is still an experimental program.

It is now clearly evident that the program should be expanded. With the labor markets tightening and the termination of jobs in many areas, the retraining feature of the Act can begin to prove its full worth. Here is a significant resource for assisting persons anticipating technological lay-off to make an easy and orderly transition to one of the several jobs they can hold in their lifetime.

7. The Manpower Development and Training Act has demonstrated that significant capacity for training and retraining exists outside the public school framework. It has also uprooted some entrenched ideas about how long it takes for the American worker to develop the skills necessary for an entry-level job, or for entering apprenticeship or on-the-job training at the job site of the employer. There is increasing evidence that perhaps one of the most effective ways to retrain persons, whether they are displaced as a result of automation or whether they are the socially and economically disadvantaged who never had a real job, is through the cooperative education programs. In such a "person-centered program," the school accepts the responsibility for developing the remedial theory or content instruction that is best suited to a classroom situation and helps a potential employer develop the specific work skills at the job site. The total training responsibility, however, rests with the school.

Conclusion

To summarize, it has been far too common in our tradition of mass free education to ascribe inadequacies to supposed shortcomings of the individual student and to neglect adopting innovative education techniques to meet the needs or to overcome the limitations of individuals. Reducing economic barriers helps those who can succeed in response to the well-established techniques of formal education and training. It does little for those, either in or out of school, who cannot make effective use of established patterns and approaches to education. The task of expanding educational opportunity must focus then on adjusting the educational system to meet the needs of people who cannot be reached through the prevailing educational methods.

Considerable experimentation and research in applying computer and information technologies to educational problems are underway. Much of what is being done bears on compensatory educational techniques for disadvantaged people in the labor force and on the development of a system of continuous, life-long education.

Through newer techniques, a wider variety of individual learning patterns, behaviors, and motivations can be recognized and accommodated. The new technologies can also relieve teachers of mechanical and administrative chores so that they can spend more time helping individual students.

In short, more educational programs of high quality must be made available for all youth and adults. But let us not confuse the word "quality" with sophistication of course content. By "high quality programs" we mean programs with adequate resources, well-trained teachers, suitable buildings and appropriate curricula and educational methods. "High quality programs" are possible only through partnership involving appropriate agencies of the federal, state, and local governments; private employers and trade associations; labor unions; and the whole community.

THE COUNSELING PROCESS IN AN MDT PROGRAM FOR OFFENDERS--EMPHASIS: PROBLEMS

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In order to discuss some of the problems encountered in Draper's MDT counseling program, an attempt will be made to describe briefly the counseling process--a process which begins when an inmate arrives at Draper, and continues after his release from prison. If one has some concept of the counseling process, he can understand better the problems presented, and can relate them to the stages of the counseling process. Thirty minutes will not permit me to go into details, but maybe I can provoke some thought for discussion in the workshop which follows.

Overview of Counseling at Draper

The counseling process in the Draper MDT project includes orientation, testing, vocational guidance, prevocational training, counseling during training, job development and placement, and follow-up counseling. Within the first week after inmates arrive at Draper, they are given an orientation to the educational and vocational programs, and are administered an achievement test battery. These two activities give the counselors and counselor-support personnel opportunities to talk with inmates. Explanations are given in detail about how they may gain admission into the MDT program at Draper.

Counselor-support personnel make a thorough investigation of the inmates' prison files to help counselors evaluate prior criminal patterns, social and economic information, and other information needed to determine the possibility of their admission into the program. Usually, however, the inmate is assigned to prison labor at this point. The classification officer has worked out a point system based on work performance, cooperation, and behavior. When an inmate has earned enough points, he may apply for one of the educational or vocational programs at Draper. This makes school programs positive reinforcements. If he files application with MDT, he is personally interviewed by the counselor and, if accepted, placed in an ongoing program of basic education with emphases on basic skills, personal-social development, vocational guidance, and counseling. The world of work is explored. Many occupational films are viewed and discussed by the student. Vocational interest and aptitude tests are administered, the results of which are discussed with the student.

The recruiting process involves all of the things which I have described. The description illustrates a very important point--contact in person. Printed announcements help, but they are not as effective for recruiting as personal contact and through that contact we are giving guidance to many who do not enter our vocational program. Some possess the skills for making a living, but need help in personal-social development.

When prevocational students acquire basic education skills needed to enter the vocational training program, they may then make a choice of training. In order to help them determine the vocational area which they want to enter, they spend some time in each of the shops. There, the vocational instructors talk with them concerning training--advantages and disadvantages of each trade--and allow them to become familiar with tools and equipment. After this orientation, and further talks with the vocational counselor, they make a final choice of training.

Many stages have been set for the period of counseling during training. Counselors and instructors have personal, social, criminal, and other information as well as test scores on each student before he enters vocational training. Student and counselor are already familiar with each other. Remedial work can begin immediately, since deficiencies have already been diagnosed. Guided group interaction can be scheduled in advance. Counselors, with advance information on each trainee, can begin immediate referrals, if needed, to the Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor and to the clinical psychologist.

After the trainee begins vocational training, he often reveals problems to the counselor which he was unwilling to reveal heretofore--fearing that the problems would prevent his admission into the program. One typical problem is a detainer (holdover) which is not recorded in his prison file, but may be momentarily filed. The inmate will have to stand trial for a crime in addition to the one for which he is already serving time.

Typical Problems of Counselees

To illustrate some of the kinds of problems presented by counselees, some of the introductory remarks made by counselees when they visit the counselor are quoted below. Consider each of these--keeping in mind that the counselee is a prisoner and cannot get outside to take action for himself.

"I have just received a letter from home. My mother tells me that my wife is not treating my baby right. The baby is not getting the food it needs. She leaves it and runs around with other men. I'm going to escape and go home and set her straight. I can't concentrate on study with all this happening at home."

"I've just received a letter from the military finance officer which says that I owe them $78, which was overpaid to me while in the service. What do I do about it?"

"I think my shop instructor is running me down. I can't seem to do anything right. Other 'cons' can do things, but when I do the same things, he picks on me."

"I am worried about getting a parole. I have no parents. I lived in an orphan home until I got into trouble, and was put in the Boys' Industrial School. The Parole Board requires a home program. How do I arrange this?"

"I have just received word that my mother is dying. Would you call the Warden and ask him if I could go home to see her?"

"There's an inmate inside who has sent me threatening messages. I'm not afraid of him, but I want to avoid trouble if possible, because I don't want to get put in the 'doghouse' and get kicked out of school, or lose my chances for parole. Could I be transferred to another cell away from him?"

A bricklaying student has been sent to the counselor's office by his instructor. The trainee is complaining of stomach pains, and says that he is not able to mix mortar, or do any lifting. His record indicates that he has chronic psychosomatic illnesses. The prison doctor knows him well, because of the many times he has reported for sick call. The counselor calls the doctor and asks his advice. The doctor says he is faking--to send him back to work. The boy insists that he believes he is having an attack of appendicitis. There is no sickroom in the MDT area. Inmates cannot be sent back inside to go to bed unless the doctor says so. What action does the counselor take?

"Here is a notice my mother sent me. It is a notice from the draft board at Nashville, Tennessee, to report yesterday."

"I got a letter today from a lawyer, and he wants me to sign this form so my wife can get a divorce. I don't want a divorce."

"Tell me what this letter means." The letter was from a collection agency trying to collect a debt of over $400 for a camera, jewelry, and clothes bought while in military service.

"Should I answer this letter? It is from my wife, but she tells me she is having the best time of her life, and then she signs it 'darling.'"

"Will you help me locate my father? His last known address was Butte, Montana. I have written more than once, but received no reply. My letters have not been returned."

"I'm in trouble. I owe money to an inmate inside, and I'm being threatened. Will you write my mother to send me at least fifty dollars, and if she doesn't hurry, it will double."

"Here is a letter from Ma. She and Pa are fighting again. I have got to get out of here so I can look after them."

"Can you help me get my tax refund? Here is my W-2 form."

"I was on federal probation when I was convicted for these state charges. Am I still making time on the federal sentence?"

"I lost four months' good time for fighting. Can you get my good time restored?"

"I have a federal sentence for three years running concurrently with my state sentence. Can you get me paroled from the federal sentence to coincide with the proposed state parole?"

Counselor Activity Outside the Prison

These situations have been described to give you insight into the problems MDT prisoners have, and to point out the groups inside and outside prison with whom counselors must work in order to seek solutions. Counselors must work closely with prison authorities, instructors, state parole boards, federal parole boards, state and federal courts, welfare agencies, health agencies, Vocational Rehabilitation, state employment services, U. S. Department of Internal Revenue, U. S. military, etc. Contacts are made in person, by telephone, or by letter, depending upon the urgency of the action needed, and the accessibility of the cooperating agency.

During the first few weeks of training, each trainee is scheduled for an individual counseling session. The primary purpose is to set the stage for further counseling, if needed. Other counseling sessions are either voluntary on the counselee's part, or by referral from the instructor, Warden, or others. Most trainees ask for counseling after the services and opportunities have been explained to them.

Each training class is scheduled for a two-hour guided group interaction session each week. Discussions involve grooming, attitude, budgeting money and time, job application and interview, citizenship, and various problems common to prisoners. Discussions follow role-playing, film presentations, instructor-structured lessons, and talks by consultants who are invited to visit the class (alcoholism agency, mental health, employment people, industrial job and development personnel, and others). Following one of the earlier discussions, each trainee fills out a problems checklist, which serves as a guide for further guided group interaction, and for the personal counselor's use.

Before graduation, each trainee is interviewed by the job placement officer. The purposes of this interview are to make plans for release from prison--home program, job development and placement, arrange sponsors if needed, and handle other problems of the approaching releasee. The job development and placement officer and follow-up counselor are both involved in placement and follow-up. It is very important that they get to know the trainee and his family before release to set the stage for follow-up counseling.

The follow-up personnel must begin their contacts as soon as possible after the offender's release. The first 90 days are crucial for the ex-inmate. He has entered a world which may be totally foreign to him. When feasible, the counselor takes the releasee to meet his parole officer and employer, and then helps to get him settled in his home program, which may be a boardinghouse. These things again set the stage for continuous follow-up. Close contact with the releasee, either through personal contact or contact with his parole officer, is a necessity. Tendencies toward recidivism should be attacked "head on." It's too late after the act has been committed. The follow-up counselors must maintain good relations with the parolee, his employer, family, and parole officer.

The counseling process at Draper MDT from recruiting through basic education, vocational training, and finally, follow-up,has been described briefly. There have been many problems confronted by counselors in all areas of the counseling process. Some of these problems, as well as the ways by which we have attempted to solve them,will be explored below.

I. Shortage of Counseling Personnel

The counseling staff of Draper MDT consists of one supervisor of counseling, who is also the supervisor of training, research, and evaluation; a personal-vocational counselor; three combination job placement and follow-up counselors; one supplementary instructor, who handles the guided group interaction sessions; and one part-time clinical psychologist, who works two days each month. With 140 trainees in prevocational and vocational training who need on-site counseling services, and approximately 231 graduates located throughout the state (some out of state) who need continuous and intensive follow-up services, there are not enough counselors to furnish the services needed. We have helped to alleviate this problem in several ways--four of which will be described here.

College students, preferably juniors, seniors, or graduate students studying guidance and counseling, have been employed as support-personnel for the counseling team. Forty-seven college students from fifteen different colleges and universities have been employed by either the Experimental Academic Project or MDT--forty have worked as assistants to prevocational and remedial instructors, and seven have worked with the counseling team. They perform such duties as orienting new students, administering and scoring various tests, making thorough investigations of the inmates' files, maintaining complete records of student progress, interviewing applicants and counselors, and a very important activity--engaging the counselee in informal, casual talk as a means of putting him at ease, and establishing an openness to counseling. This latter function is especially important when performed by an interviewer who is making initial contact with potential counselees who may be hostile toward or apprehensive of counseling. College co-op students serve as successful role models with whom failure-prone inmates can easily relate--sometimes more so than with older adults.

Another solution to this problem has been the involvement of instructors and other staff members in the counseling process. Instructors have students in classes and shopwork for 30 hours each week--an excellent opportunity to deal with problems common to the group. At first, instructors were apprehensive of the role they should play in counseling--as one instructor stated, "It's much easier just to send him to the counselor." The clinical psychologist, who serves as consultant to the project, conducted several sessions with the whole staff, emphasizing how each could involve himself in the counseling process. Personality development, criminal patterns,and inmate characteristics were discussed at length. There were role-playing demonstrations actually involving instructors, counselors, college students, and other staff members. The psychologist also helped the staff to realize that they must be able to recognize when a trainee should be referred to a trained counselor. This training resulted in instructors becoming more involved, understanding the trainee, and discovering that the trainees became better students as a result of this involvement. Trainees respond to an understanding empathetic instructor, but will take advantage of overly sympathetic, bleeding heart do-gooders. This is true of counselors as well.

Last year, administrators from the State Vocational Rehabilitation Service, State Board of Corrections, and the Rehabilitation Research Foundation met to discuss the possibility of placing full-time vocational rehabilitation counselors within the prisons of Alabama. One was placed at Draper, and two at Atmore Prison. This has proven to be invaluable to MDT, as well as to Vocational Rehabilitation, and particularly to the inmates who receive vocational rehabilitation services. Many of the MDT graduates have been placed in rehabilitation centers throughout the state. Such placement helps to provide support needed by releasees during the transitional adjustment period. Although the vocational rehabilitation counselor makes his services available to all inmates at Draper who qualify, we consider him a definite member of our treatment team. MDT students are referred to him for therapy--physical, emotional, psychological, etc. Clinical psychologists, paid by Vocational Rehabilitation, conduct group therapy sessions weekly with the inmates, MDT students included.

To help alleviate the burdens of the follow-up counselors in their work with releasees, we have initiated a program to solicit and to use community sponsorship agencies and individual sponsors. This program is initiated through talks by staff members before various civic groups.

The sponsoring group selects an individual sponsor who comes to the prison and meets the potential releasee. The sponsor is oriented to all phases of the prisoner's life. He discusses the inmate with the Warden, counselors, MDT staff members, and the potential releasee's parole officer. The sponsor agrees to help secure a job, home program and other necessities for the releasee. He will also spend time each week with the releasee in such activities as bowling, movies, sports activities, or visits to the sponsor's home. This is a very limited description of this program. It has not been in effect long enough to draw any conclusions.

II. Multiple Problems Within the Convict Culture--Cautions to Counselors

Within the convict culture, which definitely exists at Draper Correctional Center, one finds a convict who wants to be called a "solid" convict--one who speaks convict language and lives by an unwritten handed-down constitution preambled by phraseologies such as, "Thou shall not tell," or "Thou shall not rat, " and an economic system, which is anti-laissez faire and more oriented to the code "do unto others before they do unto you." This very same code may be applied to the unashamed convict discussing his sex life with the naive counselor just to shock him off his cushioned perch. A counselor must learn as soon as possible just how all factions of the convict culture operate. He'd better not give a non-directed "uh huh" to a pointed question asked by a counselee, such as, "Have you ever 'shacked' with a 'slick?'" A counselor should probably avoid the use of convict vernacular, but he definitely needs to understand it. It is not easy for a counselor to be empathetic to all the problems which a counselee brings to him about institutional life, but in order to understand these problems, he must be knowledgeable about all phases of prison life. These problems might be slightly exaggerated but they can present barriers to the counseling process. Guided group interaction will not be very effective if participants feel that there is a "rat" in the group. These barriers can be overcome; it takes time and the utilization of many techniques by the counselor.

III. Recruiting

Many of the problems encountered during the first year that MDT was at Draper have been solved. The counseling process, which has been described, is an outgrowth of periodic solutions to the recruiting problems--particularly orientation and MDT prevocational; however, the problem of prison maintenance competing with our needs for enrollment was further complicated by recruitment of inmates for the state trade school which began operation last year. Of the 621 inmates in residence at Draper, over 50 percent are enrolled in either the Experimental Academic Project, sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health; the MDTA vocational and prevocational schools; or the State Trade School. This speaks well for the vocational and educational rehabilitative efforts being conducted at Draper, but creates a labor shortage for the prison system, which must earn at least 70 percent of its financial support. Inmates who could well qualify for the programs in operation at Draper are also the best risks for road construction done by trusties. Such road construction work is a major source of income for the prison system. Semi-mechanized farms furnish most of the food for the prisoners and require hundreds of prisoners for labor. We have carried our recruitment into other prisons of the state with some degree of success. This problem is understandable, and a solution seems almost impossible, unless the Board of Corrections could be reimbursed for the amount of time the inmates spend in training. The competition for manpower means of course that we have had to take many inmates into the program whose predictability of success seemed extremely doubtful. However, we are an experimental project, and are willing to see what we can do with them. Even with these limitations on selection, we have had a low dropout and recidivism rate--11 percent and 22 percent, respectively.

IV. Job Placement and Follow-up

Since job placement and development will be discussed in one of the later workshops, I shall not dwell on it here. Thus far, our follow-up studies indicate that we have been able to place all the trainees who have graduated from MDT. Employers are satisfied with the work they do. The lack of money while in prison continues to be a problem for the releasee--particularly during the first few months after release--money for clothes, tools, room and board, at least until he "gets on his feet." This problem has been greatly alleviated through aid from the Labor Mobility Project of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Money has been furnished to trainees who are relocating in areas where there are training-related jobs available. However, money does not seem to be the total solution. After extensive and intensive efforts to make money management, time budgeting, and other personal-social developments real to the students, we find that these efforts do not always carry over to the "free world" spontaneously. Our graduates do well on the job, but get into trouble during their leisure hours. There seems to be a strong correlation between inability to adjust and length of time spent in institutions. Some have spent more years inside institutions than they have outside. They have little concept of "free world living," and quite often will intentionally violate parole so that they will be returned to the life which they understand. These people need a transitional adjustment period with intensive guidance and more training over a long enough period to enable them to accept the outside world and to learn to cope with problems rather than to run away from them.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING VERSUS MAINTENANCE AND OTHER PRISON WORK PROGRAMS

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It is with much pleasure that I speak to you this morning on a subject that raises serious implications for management and organization of manpower and development training programs in correctional institutions.

Both in the past and at present, the interrelationship of vocational education and training and prison maintenance, production and other work programs has been amorphous and obscure. Behind this issue and contributing to its obscurity lies an issue which has been debated by the more enlightened since society first conceived the idea of locking up its law-breakers.

The original theory was simple enough. Men who violate society's laws are removed from society, partly as punishment and partly to eliminate at least temporarily their freedom to repeat the violation. No such simple justification for imprisonment can be acceptable to modern corrections although a great many of the nation's prisons are still operated as though punishment and security were their only functions. Unless there comes a time when all offenses are made punishable by death or life imprisonment without parole, the correctional apparatus must gear itself to the inevitability of the offender's return to the community.

Problems in Traditional Prison Work and Training Programs

From a historical perspective, divergent trends and confusion of goals have plagued the development of prison work and training programs. One trend reflects the attitude that prison labor should be looked upon as different from labor in general. In keeping with the punitive philosophy or ideology, prison labor is thought of as a necessary part of repressive confinement. Labor is seen as punishment and as an obligation imposed on the prisoner. His hard labor is deprived of the dignity and incentives of labor in general. His work becomes an activity which isolates him from the rest of society. The deterrence and rehabilitative rationalizations for punishment prescribe hard work at lowest levels of skill. Even with the rise of humanitarian concern for the lot of the prisoner, the opportunity to work was advocated in the spirit of charity to help the prisoner avoid the moral and physical degradation of idleness; even the humanitarians did not seek to end the differentiation between labor behind bars and labor in the community.

The second trend has been toward improvement of prison labor conditions and increased concern that prison employment should play a part in rehabilitation of character. The aim here is to prepare the inmate for a constructive life after release, and prison labor is viewed as an activity intended to reduce the alienation of the offender from society. Tasks are related to the inmate's self-interest and vocational instruction is used to develop occupational skills and work motivation.

Work and prison labor programs, viewed from this perspective, are largely an outgrowth of the philosophy of punishment, with gradual shift of emphasis to the role of a "filler" to prevent undue idleness. Vocational training and education, in contrast, are reflections of social science influence and products of the philosophy of rehabilitation. Maintenance, production and other work programs, even today in many institutions, are geared almost exclusively to operating and maintaining the institution and the system. Rehabilitation in such programs is subordinated and often any benefit to the individual inmate is quite incidental.

Prison labor and training programs have also been viewed as something to be used to help balance the institution's budget. Increasing acceptance of the state use system may be viewed as an adjustment of prison administration to the pressure of critics of prison competition with free labor. Being able to cite reductions of governmental costs through prison industries may also be viewed as a factor in meeting criticism.

An affluent society sometimes economizes in the wrong places; a most short-sighted kind of money-saving is that which cuts down on the rehabilitation work in our correctional institutions and which negates rehabilitative efforts as the price for budget balancing.

The cost to society of such economy was indicated in a report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation released in early 1966. A study of 6,900 former inmates released in 1963 showed that 48 percent of them were arrested for new crimes in their first two years of freedom. A more recent report from the Federal Bureau of Prisons on a follow-up study of releasees from the District of Columbia's Lorton Youth Center over a longer period of time indicates a 78 percent recidivism rate. These statistics are closely related to another: "possibly fewer than 5 percent of the people now in prisons and reformatories are receiving training for jobs they can continue when they get out." The authority for the latter figure is Charles S. Prigmore, former Executive Director of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. Dr. Prigmore further noted that "even the best correctional systems are giving only about 20 percent of their inmates usable job training."

These statistics constitute a serious indictment of our correctional institutions and are particularly disturbing in the light of research findings by Dr. Daniel Glaser in his five and one-half year study and evaluation of American correctional programs.

Good Vocational Training is Desired by Inmates

Dr. Glaser's survey based on extensive interviewing of inmates of state and federal correctional institutions indicates that vocational education and trade training is the major concern of those confined in institutions. Dr. Glaser observes: "Even granting the probable tendency of inmates to try to describe themselves favorably, it is of interest that, considering all interviews collectively, learning a trade or in other ways preparing for a better job opportunity outside a prison was the first interest of most inmates at every prison studied...This is consistent with...the findings in every comparable inquiry on other components of our project which suggest that the predominant concern of most federal offenders is with their economic problems."[1]

It is apparent that many inmates see vocational training as the only rehabilitative or constructive activity the institution has to offer. Frequently they will ask for trade training when they will ask for nothing else. It is therefore often an entering wedge to reach a man through other phases of the program. It has been observed that many inmates placed in training and work programs which interest them rapidly develop work skills, gain self-respect, and gradually begin to think more of a future at that occupation than of a return to criminal behavior. In many instances it is the skill acquired in prison which is responsible for changed attitudes and outlook. These observations are documented further by several relevant conclusions drawn by Dr. Glaser. His research indicates that approximately 90 percent of the inmates released from correctional institutions profess a desire to "go straight." While it is difficult to assess the sincerity of these intentions, it is apparent that they are rapidly dissipated as a result of the many difficulties and pressures of post-release adjustment. A second conclusion relevant to this discussion is Dr. Glaser's finding that a major factor in the rehabilitation of offenders is the opportunity for application of skills developed from institutional training in post-release employment.[2]

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[1] Glaser, Daniel, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, The Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., New York, 1967, p. 113

[2] Ibid, p. 141-148

Prison Training is Not Related to Social Needs

There are few aspects of institutional life that are further removed from the realities of modern society than the vocational and occupational training programs. For the most part they are geared to the organizational needs and requirements of the prison system rather than the individual needs of the offender or the needs of the social system itself. In many instances, the reluctance of the correctional institution to encourage a more effective dialogue with the community and the overriding concern for security have created a condition of stagnation. The relative isolation resulting has led to the perpetuation of unimaginative programs, disregard for new processes or methods, and adherence to worn out traditions.

Industrial training is still heavily oriented toward production. Indeed, if this training has any relation to the outside world it is generally to the philosophy of the counting house - that is the purely financial proposition that the function of correctional industry is solely to provide needed prison goods or goods for state consumption at production costs comparable to or lower than those of private industry. Instead of being concerned with training schedules, prison industry is concerned primarily with production schedules.

We have long recognized the role of functional literacy in the rehabilitation process, but in many instances our correctional industrial training programs have not yet recognized the role of functional, marketable job skills.

We have long recognized the role of home and social environment in the rehabilitation of the parolee, but our correctional industrial programs have failed to assess fully or often even consider the role of economic environment - though we frequently see its effects in the form of revoked paroles and high recidivism rates.

In a society that demands increasingly complex skills from those who would compete successfully, our correctional vocational and occupational training programs continue to prepare men for low value single skills or in skills that a rapidly changing technology is fast erasing.

Production and maintenance type programs are frequently under the gun to meet production costs or work schedules. Because of this pressure, many supervisors feel they can't afford to take the time for training. Many correctional vocational or work supervisors reflect the attitude that anything that keeps the inmate occupied is good in itself and that training inmates in skills directly related to the needs of private industry is an expensive and expendable frill.

Prison Work Should Meet Economic Standards of Free Society

The effectiveness of training and skill development resulting from institutional industrial and production type programs would be substantially increased by placing the organization of such programs on an economic basis equivalent to that used for the organization of free work. Complaints about unfair competition cannot be met so long as work conditions in institutions are not the same as those existing in the industrial community. Opposition from the free markets can be overcome when work, wages, and all economic activities in institutions are organized in accordance with the principles governing free labor. In this regard, the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice hold promise of Federal support for easing long standing restrictions on prison industries. In one recommendation aimed at improvement of vocational training and correctional industries the Commission urges that: "States should work together and with the Federal Government to institute modern correctional industries programs aimed at rehabilitation of offenders through instilling good work habits and methods. State and Federal laws restricting the sale of prison-made products should be modified or repealed."[3]

In some of the larger more diversified state correctional programs and in the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Industries Division, more comprehensive and realistic industrial trade training is possible. The larger systems have also pioneered in reducing the artificiality of training offered through industrial programs by establishing trade advisory councils. Participation by organized labor and management provides for better, more realistic training for inmates, improved industrial operations, increased employment opportunities and a general understanding and appreciation by labor and management of correctional problems.

Organizationally and administratively, maintenance and industrial production-type operations are usually tied to staff divisions of engineering and state-use industries respectively. As a consequence, while theoretically they make up part of the total rehabilitative effort of the system, functionally their primary concern is with keeping the institution in operation and reducing costs of institutional care. Efforts are seldom made to provide for meaningful integration of these programs with vocational education. Indeed no such merger or integration should be attempted until the goals and functional objectives of these programs are clarified and a balanced and complementary plan is designed to achieve more consistency with the overall purpose of the system.

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[3] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, U. S. Gov. Printing Office, Wash., D. C., 1967, p. 176

A Problem: Salary and Status Difference Between Vocational Instructors and Work Supervisors

In institutions having vocational education components staff problems arise frequently from salary and status differentials between vocational instructors and maintenance and work supervisors. While ostensibly both are charged with instructional and training responsibilities, certification requirements and the short supply of vocational training specialists necessitate higher pay schedules to facilitate recruitment and retention of personnel. Salaries for vocational and work supervisors are generally much less and this together with real or imagined status differentials contributes to estrangement, jealousy and often the development of insularity and competition between these programs.

The definition of purposes, goals, and objectives and the establishment of priorities governing the relationship between vocational training and education, and maintenance and production programs within the institutions are responsibilities of correctional management. The obscurity and confusion which result from the divergent and often conflicting ideologies which underlie this relationship demand careful and continuous analysis and assessment. Once the issues have been carefully analyzed there is need for the establishment of an effective organizational plan, with adequate resources and strong effective leadership, which can best develop and adapt itself to achieving the established objectives. Failure on the part of correctional administrators to come to grips with the dilemma often posed between institutional work and training programs will result in tugs and pulls between these programs and confusion of roles and responsibilities by those responsible for directing and executing these activities.

Analyzing Training Value and Manpower Requirements of Maintenance

A vital consideration in the management of the relationship between training or vocational education and other work programs involves a careful study and analysis of the training needs of the inmates and the training value and manpower requirements of maintenance and other work programs.

Correctional management has applied management analysis techniques to problems of manpower or staff utilization. Standard formulas have been developed for correctional officer deployment through the use of procedures such as the post-trick analysis. Other formulas have been developed for casework staffing patterns, etc. Seldom however, does one find an institution which concerns itself with developing realistic formulas for utilization of inmates in maintenance and work operations. Quota sheets for squad assignments are usually available but all too often are based on convenience factors rather than realistic assessment of manpower requirements.

Based on such a study, and assuming the existence of a relatively well developed and diversified vocational education and training program, maintenance and institutional needs assignments could be reduced to the minimum requirements. Maintenance work and repair activities are both genuine forms of labor and have their counterparts in the employment market of the free community. These activities offer genuine training value provided they are well organized and kept within reasonable limits. These assignments could be tied in, where possible, with training and vocational education. The few remaining unskilled tasks can if necessary be performed in rotation by all inmates.

Existing institutional maintenance operations are often heavily overmanned with several highly skilled men doing most of the work, while unskilled trainees look on. Brick masonry training is an example of an area which frequently is tied closely to institutional needs. A few experienced highly skilled masons carry out assigned tasks in maintenance and new construction with a large number of unskilled trainees mixing mortar or performing other unskilled jobs and seldom participating in those areas of training which offer opportunities for real skill development. The practice of exploiting inefficient labor or overcrowding assignments results in inferior workmanship, encourages waste, and is generally antithetical to the development of good work habits and motivation toward the acquisition of skills. According to the Manual of Correctional Standards of the American Correctional Association usually no more than 25 percent of the inmate population should be assigned to maintenance operation.[4] This percentage, it is noted, will vary depending on such factors as size of institution, its physical arrangement, type of inmate, etc. It would seem that with the trend toward automated equipment in our more modern institutions, maintenance assignments could be reduced to approximately 10 percent.

I think of one institution where only recently, one third of the inmate population was assigned to the culinary division.

Assuming the acceptance of the goal of rehabilitation, the interests of the inmates and of their vocational training should not be subordinated to the purpose of maintaining the institution.

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[4] The American Correctional Association, Manual of Correctional Standards, third edition, 1966, p. 398

Staff Development of Institutional Personnel

Indoctrination of training personnel who have functioned within the framework of institutional production and maintenance operations for long periods of time is at best a difficult task. The use of modern methods of instruction requires directed efforts toward up-grading of personnel and more emphasis on in-service-training and staff development. Here again conflicting goals and philosophies bring about resistance to much needed change. It is characteristic of corrections that change comes in small increments and the development of more effective programs is often impeded by the heavy hand of tradition.

Sanger Powers, Director of Wisconsin Division of Corrections, in his Presidential address to the American Correctional Association has described well this inertia so characteristic of the field:

> "We, along with the prisoners, all too often become institutionalized, accustomed to a given way of doing things, threatened by change, preferring routine to thinking, satisfied to do today as we did yesterday, to do tomorrow what we did today. We have been able in a rapidly changing world to keep alive at least some remnants of the good old days, some nostalgic correctional Shangri-las behind stone walls where we have been successful in slowing the march of time and progress...The all-too-prevalent philosophy 'Don't stick your neck out,' the fear of being labelled 'troublemaker' by superiors steeped in the pervasive presence of the past, have deprived the corrections field of many solid contributions from sound thinking corrections workers. I know all of you must share my impatience at this sort of thing, with those who find it easier to criticize than create, at the reasons one constantly hears why a new program or procedure won't work--'We're too small,' or 'We're too big for that kind of operation'; 'The public won't buy it'; 'It isn't in the budget'; 'We never did it that way before';'It'll never work'; or 'Some egghead in the front office must have thought this one up.' It would be refreshing at times to see the same degree of imagination and resourcefulness applied to making things work as is applied to finding reasons why they won't."[5]

The pressures toward conformity and the discouragement of "rate busting" is all too prevalent in institutional work and training programs. There is often considerable pressure exerted by other instructional or supervisory staff on those who show initiative and unusual efforts to develop training aspects of their programs. This is particularly true in those institutional, vocational training programs which evolve primarily from maintenance-oriented activities.

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[5] Powers, Sanger "Contradictions in Corrections-A Critique" American Journal of Correction, Vol. 23, #6, Nov-Dec 1961, p. 6-7

On the other hand, there are many vocational and work supervisors who extend themselves beyond the call of duty in order to preserve training aspects of their programs. In this case, the system provides the impediment to change and creates a climate which discourages individual initiative and effective rehabilitation. Pressures placed on supervisors or instructors to meet work schedules often result in their putting aside or disregarding training outlines, lesson plans, evaluations of trainee performance and other considerations so vital to an organized program of trade training.

I recall a situation related to me by the vocational supervisor of an institutional plumbing shop. While plumbing is geared to maintenance it is billed by this particular institution as trade training. The instructor in this instance had been striving to provide a rotating and diversified training experience for all men assigned to his unit and had shown unusual initiative in clinging to the important training aspects of his program. Recently however, he had been forced because of the ever increasing demands of institutional needs, to give up most of his classroom instruction and resort to scoring examinations at home in his off-duty time.

Need a Greater Use of Community Training and Supportive Resources

With the limitations imposed by the unrealities and artificiality of the institutional environment, the relative success of correctional vocational training programs of the future will be largely related to efforts made to utilize more effectively the training resources and supportive services of the community. While an imaginative and vital vocational education and training program is extremely important within the institution, community based programs will provide the thrust of the future in the development of correctional programs. Corrections have been rather cautious about trying this community-centered approach and perhaps have been additionally slowed by the feeling of many in the community that a certain amount of punishment must be involved in the control of offenders. Punishment unfortunately is often equated with imprisonment. Again the conflicting ideologies which characterize society's reaction to crime and the offender operate to impede progress in the field. Community-based corrections, expanded work release programs ,and training furloughs hold promise of providing an expansive and potent dimension to the extension of institutional training programs.

The Approach of Project Challenge

For the past nine months Project Challenge, an experimental and demonstration project sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth under a Department of Labor contract, and aimed at providing occupational training, counseling and community follow-up services for youthful offenders at the Lorton Youth Center, Lorton, Virginia, has been attempting to find the answers to some of the issues posed here today. The program has as its target population 170 inmates from the Washington, D. C. area, a largely urban Negro population, age 18-26, whose lack of adequate education and training would make them unable to profit from routine institutional vocational training and work programs. The vocational training aspect of the program involves systematic application of both theoretical and practical work carried out without concern for productivity but with emphasis on apprenticeship which will permit the inmate upon release to make direct entry into a given occupation or trade. Practical work and on-the-job training are supplemented by classes on theory and a basic educational program featuring rapid remediation through the use of experimental materials developed jointly by the project and the George Washington University Educational Research Center. Remedial education, vocational talent materials and tutorial services by VISTA Volunteers are used concurrently with vocational training to upgrade the educational level of the men. Directed efforts have been made to involve those inmates whose academic deficiencies have excluded them from access to useful training under traditional institutional programs and toward the involvement of those inmates who have presented chronic disciplinary problems in the institution.

Developing Cooperation with Private Business and Industry

A primary thrust in the vocational training program has been the active solicitation and cooperation of local industry in preparing outlines and teaching plans, and providing consultation which serves to keep the program geared to the labor demands of the business and industrial community.

As a related effort the project has initiated steps to form a working committee to include business and industry representatives with leadership to be provided by the apprenticeship council. The functions of this committee would be to provide advice on space and equipment requirements, and continuous assessment of training programs in terms of acceptability to particular trades.

Early in the project it became apparent that in order to maintain the integrity of training, particularly in those areas which parallel maintenance operations and institutional needs activities, it was necessary to make continuous assessment of the relationship between our training and these aspects of the ongoing institutional program. We have learned that in the interest of meeting the service and maintenance demands of the institution, training may well be consumed unless there is an established mechanism for regulating and evaluating the training value of various maintenance projects as they relate to the ultimate goals of the program. Throughout the program we have made a continuous and deliberate effort to shift program emphasis away from institutional needs. It is our observation, although at this particular point in the program we are without empirical substantiating data, that the success and effectiveness of correctional institutional training programs is in no small way related to the extent to which the program design and implementation can be removed from the influence of pressures and demands of institutional maintenance operations.

Production problems discussed earlier in their relationship to vocational training have not affected the operation of our project since the Youth Center at present has no program or facilities for institutional industrial operations.

Line staff of maintenance and production programs in institutions have been handicapped by the relative isolation of their operations from the rapidly changing technology and changing requirements of the labor market. This situation has been made more acute by the lack of support in terms of equipment and other resources required to make the change from programs largely designed to reduce idleness and maintain the system to gear institutional management programs to problems of rehabilitation.

As part of staff development and training, and as a vehicle to promote more effective dialogue between institutional training and the business, industrial and governmental community, Project Challenge has encouraged and supported instructor participation in trade and professional organizations. We have found this participation to be vital to the development of effective training programs. In addition, benefits accrue in terms of expanded job opportunities for trainees and improved instructor morale and performance. Professional and trade organizations offer excellent forums for emphasizing the mutual benefits of cooperative programs between institutions, business and industry. We are continuously impressed with the eager response of business, government and industry to assist in curriculum development and help in meeting equipment needs.

Developing Intensive Training

Program emphasis is on intensified or accelerated training geared to sentences which average 18-20 months. Sentencing is indeterminate under the Federal Youth Corrections Act with mandatory parole after 4 years. Based on our project experience and assuming a reasonable rate of release, accelerated vocational programs appear to be most effective in youthful offender institutions. Such intensified programs are geared more toward the inclination of youthful inmates to respond more favorably to short range goals.

Initial project planning anticipated early approval of work release and training furloughs for those ready for advance apprentice level training. Approval for these programs has not yet been obtained.

Prior to the inception of Project Challenge, graduates of institutional training usually were funneled back into institutional maintenance operations and into assignments largely unrelated to training. Operating with a refreshing degree of autonomy, the project has acted as catalyst in establishing new means of utilization which serve to further the skill development of those completing training. A welding unit has been created and an automotive servicing unit is now being organized. Services in this area previously were performed at other institutions or by cadremen.

To capitalize further on aptitudes and skill developed, the project has experimented with the use of graduates as lead men to help with the training of new groups. This approach has been most effective in several training areas. This aspect of our program closely parallels Draper's inmate service corps.

Other innovative features of the project concerning new approaches to staffing and supportive services in institutions will be described this afternoon in Mr. Leiberg's presentation.

THE USE OF NONPROFESSIONALS AND SERVICE VOLUNTEERS IN CORRECTIONS

Leon G. Leiberg
Director, National Committee for Children and
Youth's "Project Challenge" at Lorton Youth Center
Lorton, Virginia

It is a pleasure to be here today to speak on a subject few correctional systems are as yet willing to consider seriously: "The Role of the Nonprofessional Indigenous Worker in Corrections."

It is also fitting at this time to thank the Manpower Administration for making it possible for this conference to take place. As has been true in the past, and I sincerely hope it will be true in the future, the Manpower Administration provides not only funds but encouragement and support by its policy of attempting to find new ways and new solutions to some of the long-standing labor problems that have beset our society.

In an age of immense prosperity and opportunities for those who have the credentials, this policy has helped to make members in good standing of many thousands who otherwise would have lived an unfulfilled promise.

In recent times, an increasing number of articles and a book or two have commented on the need for the utilization of indigenous workers in the many fields of social endeavor, mainly because of the growing shortages of skilled and qualified workers in an expanding area of need. The examples that have been made possible by federal funding and the support of groups in many cities bear witness to the effectiveness, the dedication, and the whole-hearted participation of those who for too long have been kept on the fringes of employment by lack of academics and the possession of police records, but have been permitted by virtue of changed circumstances to demonstrate contributions few believed possible.

Corrections Cautious About Using Nonprofessionals or Ex-inmates

Corrections, as a field, has been cautious about raising the subject for fear of opening a Pandora's Box of problems. These conceptions and misconceptions have been aptly described in years past by Dr. Marvin Wolfgang, a professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Wolfgang wrote in his pamphlet "Crime and Race," published by the Institute of Human Relations Press that, "We can now afford to be more optimistic because we are coming to recognize that some of the forces leading to crime and delinquency may be subject to control. A child is not destined to become delinquent as is an acorn a tree. But there are forces that determine his chances for successful or stunted growth." The development of organized movements to increase the opportunities of all is an index of society's awareness of these differences between what Sheldon Glueck calls "destiny and destination."

The National Committee on Employment of Youth, in a pamphlet published in 1966 by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, discusses at length roles for nonprofessionals in corrections. Emphasis is given to the need to assess manpower requirements and how to determine job functions while suggesting that new methods of staff selection seem appropriate to utilize all potential sources for staff. Particular reference is made to the successful utilization of ex-offenders in the New York State Division for Youth, particularly in the after-care program.

When Project Challenge started to plan its program at the Lorton Youth Center in Virginia, the realities of the institutional experience were all too familiar. It seemed at the time that those living in the institution and those charged with their supervision not only had very little in common, but also that a wide gulf separated them, as if the aspirations and needs of one group were totally alien to the other. This growing estrangement between those incarcerated and the persons charged with the responsibility of guarding them is paralleled by the distrust and hostility faced by law enforcement officers in most of the large urban centers.

We believe that this pattern is not irreversible and that the key to good citizenship is, to some extent, the example provided by individuals who have chosen not to break the law, although originating from the same urban ghetto as the violators.

Examples of positive leadership developed among the underprivileged in programs sponsored by the U. S. Government point the way to the belief that alienation is not so total as to preclude any productive dialogue and cooperation between the power structure and the masses.

The Federal Civil Service Commission has broken ground in its efforts to provide jobs for those who have had brushes with the law at some point in their lives, and private businesses are being encouraged to hire individuals with evidence of skills, but possessing police records. The federal bonding program is a good illustration of the start of the government's desire to make room for a substantial percentage of individuals who must become part of the mainstream.

Corrections has not been receptive to the idea of hiring people with criminal records on the assumption that custodial problems would be magnified by the introduction of contraband and by possible friction developing among its tradition-oriented line staff, while problems of management would occur if the subprofessional were given an opening to the system.

Pressures for Changing Tradition are Growing

The growing shortage of qualified personnel in the correctional systems of large urban areas is, however, beginning to pose serious problems in respect to the staffing patterns of these institutions, and affects their programs: vocational shops remain idle, activities cannot take place.

The purely custodial responsibilities have by and large been held by personnel whose outlook and ideology is not prone to provide for effective change, outside the narrow limits of supervision, of men confined behind a perimeter of walls and towers. Therefore the regions of decision-making and innovation in corrections have been inhabited by the professional in the field who is reluctant to deviate from the very narrow path of tradition. The Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training will help, I am sure, to produce greater flexibility and encourage innovations which will produce better services.

Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, co-authors of "Mental Health of the Poor," recognized that "there will always be resistance to overcome even if resistance reflects no more than inertia. Resistance is overcome only when there is pressure for change." This month, in the latest issue of "Social Case Work," the official publication of the Family Service Association of America and a most conservative publication, the training of indigenous community leaders for employment in social work has surfaced as a possibility worthy of consideration without fear on the part of the professional social worker.

This concept was explored successfully by the Center for Youth Studies of Howard University in Washington, D. C., with delinquent and generally antisocial youth who had been selected randomly for training, and were placed in job slots previously left unfilled. These individuals have proven themselves to be the key element in bridging the gulf of misunderstanding. This was by virtue of their own example and their interpretation that social improvement was possible and that the system does provide the opportunity for access. I believe that it is individuals such as these who will, when trained and motivated, provide far better support by example to the criminal than correctional officers will manage to do.

The National Committee for Children and Youth in its program at the Lorton Youth Center in Virginia, has attempted to demonstrate that unorthodoxy can produce excellent results. The attempt consisted of several different ways to incorporate individuals with varying skills and experience levels, as well as those having criminal records, into a program geared to the youthful offender in a correctional institution. We believe that the results are sufficiently encouraging to warrant a close look by all those who have charge of administrative hiring policies in the field.

The Lorton Experiment With Nonprofessional Indigenous Staff

The experiment at Lorton included:

1. The hiring of instructors who did not have teaching licenses and whose experience and educational achievements were far removed from the traditional education requirements. Instructors were hired on the basis first of all of knowledge of their field, and secondly, because it was felt that their example would provide the necessary impetus for improvement because of their identification with the target population. It is evident that not all instructors have performed at the same level of achievement, but they have performed as a group at a very high level and with better results than the traditional vocational supervisors operating within the institutions, who have been unable to establish the kind of relationship we believe to be essential to obtain positive change.

2. Counseling personnel were selected with the motive to provide as wide a spectrum of education and background as possible within the limited positions open in our project. Here also, individuals with records and without advanced education were working side-by-side with counselors in possession of advanced academic credentials. In every instance the work performed has been of an extremely high caliber, and demonstration of total involvement the standard norm. The reason for this good reception and excellent performance may be the fact that credentials were not made public to the institutional staff.

3. Project Challenge, in addition to experimenting with paid non-professional staff members, also broke ground in the utilization of service volunteers in corrections. We saw yesterday the contribution the college corps has made here at the Draper Correctional Center. We have seen their dedication and we have seen the conditions under which they perform, but they are basically related to and supportive of the system, which is authoritarian and controlling. The service volunteers utilized with Project Challenge have a basic orientation which is inmate-directed and often times at odds with the concept of prisons. Both groups make a substantial contribution and assist in providing for effective rehabilitation.

The VISTA Program at Lorton

Our VISTAs, for the first time in a correctional institution, participate on a continuous and full-time schedule both within and without the institution. This involvement is reflected in the wide range of VISTA activities at the Center: academic tutoring, discussion groups, sociodrama, individual counseling, driver education, instruction in experimental remedial education materials, a course in Negro history, a music appreciation group, a drama section, and an art class. Other projects are in the planning stage, including a Gavel Club, a Debate Club, a college scholarship program, a tutoring program involving community volunteers, and a creative writing class. This list illustrates the attempt made to reach the men in a variety of ways, often using new and unorthodox techniques, and both individual and group approaches.

The key to success in the VISTA program lies in changing the individual's attitude toward knowledge. If a man can be made to feel the excitement of learning, it is a significant contribution to his development regardless of the quantity of material absorbed in the process. Accomplishing this, however, is not a one-sided affair; the men have much to offer if only they are consulted and listened to. Underlying all VISTA activities is the philosophy that a man will not have the proper motivation for learning if he is subjected constantly to an emasculating monologue. By providing a dialogue, the Volunteers have been able to adapt their approach to the needs and desires of the men, thereby achieving a degree of effectiveness that a formal, impersonal, institutionalized program could not hope to attain. Following is a brief discussion of problems and progress in several of the VISTA activities.

Tutoring

Evening and weekend tutoring by the Volunteers fills an important void in the Youth Center education program. NCCY vocational courses require at least six hours a day of the trainee's time, preventing him from attending the institution's regular classes, and non-NCCY men who require individual attention find the institution program inadequate. Most of the tutoring is done on a small group basis in which the individual receives more attention than would be possible in a classroom setting but has the added excitement of group feedback and interaction. VISTAs feel that it is important to keep the groups small enough to allow individual relationships between tutor and student to develop. It has often been the case that a student will participate in such activities with needs other than simply academic instruction.

Remedial reading instruction, conducted by Mike Bohen, answers a vital need for the many Youth Center students who were school drop-outs at an early age. Inadequate financing, however, has prevented this activity from becoming optimally effective. The lack of a satisfactory graded progress system and an insufficient variety of materials are major deficiencies. Two good graded progress publications are available from the Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc., but one, a weekly newspaper called News for You, does not accommodate the reader who is below the third grade level; and the other, a set of six books for the functional illiterate, called Building Your Language Power, costs $8.00 per set and is usable only once. Newspapers and magazines, while partially satisfying the variety requirement, are only worthwhile for men who are at the fourth or fifth grade reading level.

Peter Howell and Harris Neuman are engaged in math tutoring. Several of their students learned fractions for the first time while in this program despite many years spent in the District of Columbia school system. Now they handle problems of algebraic substitution with ease. They are examples of the many men at the Youth Center who are unable to produce in a classroom situation but respond well to individual or small group treatment.

Discussion Groups

VISTA discussion groups are hindered by a problem that is endemic to the institution--the difficulty of achieving integrated participation in voluntary activities. No matter how far ranging a discussion it invariably returns to the subject of race relations but, with the groups comprised almost entirely of Negroes, this question does not receive the balanced, frank, and healthy exchange of views it requires. Despite this handicap, the groups frequently generate stimulating and enlightening discussions of important issues, issues that would not ordinarily get the individual attention or comprehensive examination this activity provides.

The movie discussion group, conducted by Ron Woods and Mike Bohen, meets weekly to view and discuss various social dilemmas portrayed on the screen. At one particularly interesting session, a film about drug addiction entitled "The Riddle," was shown to an audience of about 60 men--well above the usual turnout. The film was an excellent one for discussion due to its short length and the fact that it wasn't blatantly moralistic. Only ten men remained after the screening but they were asked to express their comments into a tape recorder. It was the first time a recorder had been introduced into a discussion group and it turned out to be the hit of the evening. One of the men acted as group leader, directing conversational traffic with the microphone, and a dynamic discussion of the film ensued for more than two hours. The men were fascinated by the machine and asked if it would be used in the proposed Gavel Club and debating groups. The willingness of the men to speak into a recorder and participate in a critique of the feedback bodes well for the future of public speaking activities at the Center.

Peter Howell moderates a short story appreciation group. The short story is an ideal subject for literary discussion due to its brevity and the ease with which it can be reproduced. At first this activity got off to a slow start because of the reluctance of participants to read aloud before the group. This obstacle was overcome by a change in procedure; now the men read the stories during their free time and limit group discussions to critiques of the assigned reading. This activity now shows promise of living up to its great potential.

Sociodrama, Drama

Sociodrama and dramatics are two activities handled by Harris Neuman. Sociodrama is a form of group "therapy" in which problems brought up by individual members are examined through role playing. The man who presents the problem not only plays himself but takes his turn in portraying other people involved in or affected by the situation. By assuming another person's position in relation to the problem, a man is often able to gain a more objective view of his own condition.

Though sociodrama got off to a good start, attendance and interest have declined in recent months. Mr. Neuman attributes this to the fact that sociodrama can be very threatening to a man's complacency and view of himself. Another difficulty stems from a climate at the Youth Center which inhibits the frank discussion of personal problems.

It is difficult to assess the future of sociodrama but it has the potential to become a valuable rehabilitative vehicle. In its short existence it has taken the wind out of several potentially dangerous situations and has proven to be an effective means of enabling a man to look at himself with some semblance of objectivity.

The Drama Club is currently working on a production of "The Connection," a two-act play by Jack Gelber. When this activity first started, it was difficult to get the men to commit themselves to regular rehearsals. In an attempt to give them a better understanding of the theater, Mr. Neuman invited the Garrick Players, a professional repertory company from Washington, D. C., to perform at the Center. Almost 100 men attended their performance of "The Marriage Proposal," a two-act commedy by Anton Chekhov. For most it was their first experience with live theater and they thoroughly enjoyed it. Mr. Gerald Slavick, leader of the Players, was so pleased with audience response in a question and answer session following the show that he extended the men an open invitation to attend regular performances of his company at their downtown theater. Five men subsequently attended the group's presentation of "John Brown's Body," and other trips are planned. Mr. Neuman reports that this exposure to live theater, in addition to broadening the men culturally, has renewed and intensified their interest in drama activities at the Center.

Music Appreciation, Art

The music appreciation activity is going well, with Peter Howell expertly mixing blues, jazz, and rock 'n roll for his group every Thursday evening. In connection with this activity he has found that many men would learn to play a musical instrument but there is a shortage of instruments and a complete absence of qualified music teachers at the Center.

Miss Nancy Cover, an art student at American University, accepted Peter Howell's invitation to teach painting at the Youth Center for two hours each Saturday afternoon. It is a popular activity and an important one; there are many men at the Center with artistic talents who never before had the opportunity or encouragement to express themselves. When another teacher is found, the art class will be expanded to include clay sculpturing.

In the foregoing review of VISTA activities, several characteristics of the Youth Center population were evident: the men are predominantly Negroes, school dropouts, and products of culturally and economically deprived backgrounds. It is obvious that such a group will not benefit readily from the usual institutional programs. They must be reached by unorthodox methods and specialized subject matter, at least as supplements to a formalized education schedule. Following are several recommendations, based on VISTA experience, for providing such a program at the Youth Center:

Recommendations For Future Activity

1. The education process at the Youth Center should become more personalized and responsive to the needs of the individual. This might be accomplished by hiring more teachers but a more economical and effective procedure would be to invite community volunteers to the Center for evening and weekend tutorial work similar to that now provided by VISTA. A cooperative program could be established, for example, with the D. C. Teacher's College whereby the college would supply students for tutorial work on a paid or an earned credit basis. Aside from the obvious advantages to the Center, this arrangement would provide the future teachers first-hand experience with the deficiencies of the present District school system as reflected in the Youth Center population.

2. Another beneficial change would be the initiation of a comprehensive Negro culture program at the Center. By decreasing the feelings of alienation, frustration, and inferiority that are intensified by prison life, such a program could prove to be a valuable rehabilitative stimulus.

Here again the institution could turn to the resources of the community for assistance: the New School of Afro-American Thought, the African Institute, Howard University, or the NAACP. Some might argue that such a program would only intensify an already volatile racial situation at the Center; others that the men would not be interested in anything not directly related to sex, parole, or a good-paying job upon release. VISTA experience with a course in Negro history has been just the opposite: the men hunger for things of the mind, and find the rich heritage of the Negro race a source of pride and an inducement to change and emulation.

3. A third recommendation involves implementing the suggestions presented in Hooked on Books[1] by Fader and Schaevitz. This book describes an experimental program at the J. Maxey Boys Training School of Michigan, in which ordinary textbooks and library volumes were replaced with paperback books covering a wide variety of subjects. The reading material was then displayed on drug-store type racks throughout the institution for use at the men's convenience. The experiment was a phenomenal success at Maxey where, before its inception, high school age students were reading at the fourth grade level and showed little interest in progressing. The secret of its success was the provision of easy access to attractively illustrated, paperbound books and variety in subject matter. The Youth Center is presently moving in the direction of making reading a pleasurable and voluntary experience for the men and it is hoped that this progress continues. Hooked on Books would be a useful guideline to implementing such a program fully.

Conclusion

This brief report does not exhaust by any means VISTA involvement at the Youth Center. Nothing has been said about the work of Volunteers Martha Epstein and Beth Williams in job development and placement; and little has been mentioned about the amount of time spent on home visits and individual contacts. Much of the Volunteers' time at the Center is spent simply talking with the men and listening to them. Such seemingly idle conversation plays an important role in developing constructive human relationships. Often it leads to something really significant--something a man had on his mind and wanted to say for a long time but couldn't until he felt it was the right moment.

The important aspect of Volunteers' involvement at the Center is that they face the men positively and never stoop to downgrade or belittle them. They work unceasingly to help the men to view themselves as constructive human beings; the men in turn help the VISTAs to "keep the faith."

This "volunteer for all seasons" relates closely to the needs of the inmates rather than to the needs of the administration, and can reduce explosive issues when the correctional line staff feels threatened by such a demonstration. Also, the presence of the Volunteers in an environment where 92 percent of the population originated in the urban ghetto was at first subject to much mistrust. It was as if the population expected that after the initial confrontation these Volunteers would quickly lose interest. Their surprise at discovering that the dedication, the interest and the sincerity of this non-authoritarian group was not limited to a few hours but remained constant, eventually convinced all but the diehards that we were meaning business.

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[1] Berkeley Medallion, $.50. Berkeley Corporation, 15 East 26th Street, New York, New York 10010

A few words are necessary to point out that the responsibility for selection and training, as well as for recruitment of VISTAs was handled in its entirety by the VISTA program which does not provide the experience or the training methods which would assure a high percentage of successful placements. In this respect, we cannot be emphatic enough in urging on the Office of Economic Opportunity that criteria for recruitment and selection as well as de-selection be strengthened and ruthlessly enforced. It is much less painful to the individual and much less dangerous to the program for an individual who becomes obviously threatened by involvement with a population completely out of his sphere of experience to be directed to a program more in keeping with his ability and talents. He should not be deployed by sheer virtue of administrative inertia into a situation which can be extremely dangerous and self-destructive. The culture shock which jolts the Volunteer once he has taken hold in the program can become a very painful experience. But casualties are to be expected in such a program; routines are disturbed and many sacred cows resettled to less green pastures. Not all Volunteers are able to take the strain nor have the stamina to work long hours six days a week.

Many of the young male Volunteers presently serving throughout the United States possess high moral qualifications as well as a genuine desire to serve their country, but it is also true that many of these young individuals possess (as was found in a representative group) a sense of rebellion against authority as presently constituted, in addition to their expectations that their service will keep them outside the reach of the induction centers. Such non-conforming and strong-willed individuals require and need the best supervision if their role is to be effective and their help useful. Time has to be set aside for their training, and the opportunity provided for constructive dialogue. Honesty to all concerned requires the elimination of those who cannot maintain objectivity or who over-identify. Despite these qualifications, the example and the dedication of VISTA Volunteers to give one year of their lives is not lost and does much to help restore to a brighter luster the often dimmed hope that society really cares.

JOB DEVELOPMENT AND PLACEMENT OF THE EX-OFFENDER

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Introduction

I must begin by developing a fairly elaborate frame of reference. It is quite possible that as I do this many of you may wonder why I insist on taking time to tell you things you already know. The answer is that it is precisely because we are familiar with certain items of information that I want to review and make sure that they are considered and fitted into a coordinated scheme that will help us set goals.

Familiar ideas and bits of information often receive only casual attention just because they are familiar. As a result, important meanings may be passed over too quickly to have the impact required for success.

Subsequently, this initial failure to attend to the obvious and familiar leads to failure in final outcomes. This is the reason for the careful step-by-step count down that is followed in preparing to send one of our astronauts into space. It is also the basic rationale underlying the design of programed instruction which is central in the Draper program. Finally, I am inclined to believe that many of the difficulties encountered in fitting offenders into effective relationships with the world of work arise because we have not planned effectively around familiar factors.

Necessity to Set Meaningful Goals

If we are going anywhere with job development and placement activities we must set meaningful goals.

The average offender entering the labor market from jail or prison faces greater employment problems than an average worker undertaking a change in status in the world of work. In saying this, I am not suggesting that the primary difficulty lies in the fact that he has a criminal history. This is always an issue, but in many cases it will not be the most significant problem to be addressed in helping him to make a solid vocational adjustment. If I focus too narrowly on the implication of his criminality, I may not give proper emphasis to the fact that the offender's problems did not begin when he entered the correctional institution. On the whole, the people who are in our jails and prisons are more poorly educated than the general population, a majority having left school at an early age. Before coming to jail and after their return to the community they are likely to live in marginal, impoverished, culturally deprived sections of the community. Their previous employment record is sporadic, a sequence of short-term jobs interspersed with frequent periods of unemployment. When they have worked, the jobs are likely to be low-skilled and low-pay. Few are equipped to compete successfully in today's job market. The jobs for which they qualify are decreasing in numbers because of technological advance and changes in the occupational structure. Not only is the number of jobs decreasing, but because more young workers are entering the market, the competition for entry-level jobs is tougher. In addition, educational and training requirements for good jobs are getting higher.

Young adults entering the labor market from jail are likely to be excluded from a choice of good jobs primarily because they are non-white, poorly educated, culturally impoverished and different, and secondarily because they have criminal histories and jail records. This is the perspective from which a job developer should work.

The Offender Stands Alone

For the most part, the young offender is quite alone in his search for work. His family and friends may be interested, but they are not likely to be a very helpful resource; ordinarily they are struggling with many of the same handicaps besetting him. Thus, the young offender is reduced in resources, since family and friends constitute the major source of job-getting in our economy.

Most people would agree that it is highly important for an ex-offender to have a good job. Most people would have sympathy for the problems he faces and would be inclined to agree that he should have a chance to prove himself. But in the vast majority of cases no one is willing to take the risk, and there is no agency with power and specific responsibility to provide such an opportunity.

Private social agencies are reluctant to deal with this difficult population. They have long waiting lists and priorities for service are generally given to applicants who do not have a prison or jail history. Public social agencies are only slightly more accessible. Responsibility for helping socially handicapped people is so divided among several public agencies that it is easy to overlook the fact that no one has responsibility for handling the continuing deleterious effects of incarceration. Parole, where available, is oriented toward surveillance and community protection, not toward service for the parolee. The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation may help, if it is established that the offender is handicapped--but drug addicts and alcoholics have not been defined as handicapped, and these often are factors in our population. The Welfare Department deals with welfare needs. . .Public Health with health needs. . .the Employment Service may refer for jobs . . . but none of these agencies has responsibility to help the released offender with the unique handicap he continues to carry. I want to suggest that the job developer should fill this gap. However, if the task of job development is defined in a limited fashion, e.g., to getting the released offender a job, any job--the critical problem of social handicap may never be handled.

Release Not Restoration to Society but Legal Reinsertion

Supposedly the released offender has paid for his crime. It is implied that punishment is complete when the offender has "paid" with a certain number of days and nights of his life and that he may be restored to society with a "clean slate." Legally, this may be reasonably true, but in the reality of social relationships it is false. Release from jail or prison is often just a matter of "letting go"--nothing more. It is more appropriate to describe most release procedures as legal reinsertions rather than as restorations to society. For the majority of people sentenced to jail, public responsibility is deemed to be ended when a sentence has been served to completion. The barred doors of the jail are opened and the erstwhile prisoner is ejected, albeit with willingness on his part, into the community. At Rikers Island, for example, it has been the practice to give the man a bologna sandwich and 25¢ as he is being released so that he has "something" to eat and can make one telephone call and buy one subway token. This assumes an acceptance from society and a relationship with others in the community that often does not square with the facts.

The Program at Rikers Island

It is because these "reinserting" activities are so prevalent and potentially destructive to individuals and to society that we have developed the ideas and programs of the Social Restoration Research Center. We believe there is a need for a tested philosophy of transitional management and for the development of strategies, tactics and techniques for helping many groups and individuals in our society who are leaving one social structure or community of experience, and who are seeking to establish or re-establish themselves in another social structure or community of ideas, beliefs, social expectancies and practices. Thus we are concerned with all sorts of people in transition: migrants, kids leaving school to enter the world of work, people leaving jail, people leaving hospitals, people leaving the military, etc. The dynamics of transition of each of these groups are strikingly similar, and--what is more pertinent to our present discussion--the problems of entering the world of work, the barriers they encounter, the anxieties they express and the help required to develop a satisfactory solution are also quite similar. So, at the SRRC, we have come to perceive the role of the job developer as a manager of transition.

This philosophy and various strategies, tactics and techniques for its implemention can be illustrated by telling you about the Restoration of Youth Through Training Project.

Basically, the Restoration of Youth Through Training Project (RYT) was an experiment designed to test the proposition that recidivism could be reduced by (1) raising employability levels of young offenders leaving jail, (2) placing them in work situations where existing labor market demands and future growth potential lowered the risk of unemployment, and (3) providing them with access to supportive services in the community that would help them stay at work. The project was funded by a contract with the Office of Manpower Research of the U. S. Department of Labor.

RYT believed that levels of employability, quality of work and opportunity for advancement at work are important determinants of status, personality and social role, including such social roles as "delinquent" and "criminal." In addition, RYT believed that the tendency of many young offenders to revert to criminal patterns of living after release from jail may be associated with factors of work and occupation that operate to restrict certain groups and individuals to extremely low levels of employment.

Employability Not the Problem but Dead End Jobs

Frequently, the delinquent and criminal population have been labeled as unemployable. Strictly speaking, it would be imprecise to term these men "unemployable" since numbers of short-term, low-paying, mediocre jobs are available to them. To the extent that they can find a job--no matter how marginal--they are not truly unemployable. The point is that many of these available jobs are dead-ends. The real issues of employability for ex-inmates of jails and prisons are sometimes lost or glossed over by casual assumptions that willing men can always find work and that most low-paying jobs can be used as stepping stones to better jobs. Some low-paying jobs are entries to better work, others lead nowhere. The two possibilities should not be confused. Also, even when a career ladder is present, the steps and requirements to ensure movement and promotion may not be perceived.

Society Pushes Offenders Into Low-level Jobs

By defining the issues and goals of RYT in terms of raising the level of employability, RYT was undertaking to break a traditional pattern of operation which tends to push young offenders into low-level jobs and to maintain them there. A defeatist philosophy colors the community's approach to job placement and social mobility for these young people. This is illustrated by a widespread practice of employment counselors who are so pessimistic about the chances for placement that they tend to advise young offender clients to aim for objectives which admittedly are below their potential, but which are called "realistic" because openings are available. Unfortunately, some aspects of current parole practice also tend to reinforce such attitudes. Parole rules often require offenders to have jobs before they can be considered for release on parole. Not many good jobs can be negotiated from inside the jail. Further, parole rules make it clear that steady work habits will be taken as evidence of reformation and periods of unemployment will be questioned. Whenever rules such as these are applied rigidly, there is a tendency for both parolee and parole officer to be preoccupied with superficial evidence that the parolee has been working every day rather than with quality and future potential of employment. Often there seems to be no leeway for exploration and development such as would be expected and allowed for an ordinary youth. As a result, young parolees frequently wind up in the jobs that are easiest to find--jobs as delivery boys, messengers, dishwashers, counter boys, bus boys, etc.

Youth entering the world of work generally start with inherently less stable and less satisfying jobs. They lack experience and seniority. With seasonal or economic fluctuations they are the first to be laid-off. In the beginning of their working careers they are uncertain about where they want to work and what kind of work they want to do. Searching and shifting from job to job is usual, and periods of joblessness are almost inevitable if they are motivated to improve their status. However, despite the fact that such problems of transition are not unique to persons coming from jail, society seems less accepting of the ex-inmate and less inclined to grant him such flexibility and time to work out a stable adjustment. Therefore, the young ex-inmate not only starts with dead-end jobs, but since he does not have the freedom, security, information, or perspective to press for other options, he tends to stay at the same level. If he is willing, it is possible for him to be almost continuously employed in a series of menial jobs.

Marginal Jobs Encourage Recidivism

Such "steadiness" can be misleading in its apparent promise for reducing recidivism. Under certain circumstances, for example, it may only mask a slow, insidious progression toward further delinquency. It may postpone, but not really prevent. While a small, steady income undoubtedly eases some pressures, and regular attendance at work would probably reduce the amount of free time in which delinquency might occur, there is evidence that these factors by themselves do not offset the influence of other more potent factors. Sutherland and Cressey, for example, have argued that low prestige, low pay, and temporary, short-term jobs tend to root disadvantaged youth in a milieu where they are exposed to excessive criminogenic stresses.[1] Further, steady employment in a marginal occupation tends to be identifying and confirming of marginality. Over an extended period of time such identification and confirmation may destroy capacities necessary for the development of effective self-management. Although social class and sub-cultural values introduce some variations, effective self-management as an adult, without intervention from social agencies, is dependent in large part upon the success that the adult has in getting enough money to meet his needs, to pay his bills and to care for those who are dependent upon him. Thus, an unemployed recipient of welfare funds is apt to be less in control of his life as a result of his way of getting money. Many aspects of his life now come under scrutiny, evaluation and planning by others. Where and how he and his family live, what the money given him should be spent for, whether he should be allowed to have more children, etc., all become matters of public concern and subject to varying degrees of public control.

Society Treats An Offender Differently

Similar conditions operate in the life of the criminal. Different frames of reference exist for the apprehended offender and the undetected offender. The person who is caught and convicted is legally and socially assigned a different status. People and the community expect that he will behave differently. Because such social expectations are psychologically powerful and are expressed broadly and concretely in social organization and daily experiences, the apprehended offender does behave differently. Paradoxically, criminals and delinquents are the products of the social systems and institutions used to identify and correct them. As a result of the peculiar assignment of law-enforcement, judicial procedures and correctional agencies, while they control criminals they also manufacture them.

Many of the philosophies and procedures of social, educational, and economic institutions in American society need to be overhauled to provide a better basis for preventing crime and delinquency. This is a large-scale, long-range undertaking. In the meantime, there is a need for smaller, middle-range programs to deal effectively with the current state of affairs, to compensate for already existing prior deprivation and to reduce present handicaps faced by disadvantaged sectors of society. This is the level at which RYT was focused.

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[1] Sutherland, E. & Cressey, D., Principles of Criminology, Lippincott Co., Chicago, 1955, pp 194-195

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Managing Upward Mobility

Raising employability levels for young men entering the labor market after serving time in jail is essentially a problem of stimulating and managing an upward social mobility. In conceptualizing the RYT project goals in these terms, it should be recognized that the intention was not to transmit a broad range of middle-class values to lower-class and working-class youth. Rather, the major goal was to provide a new social role in work, together with enough support, and a sufficiently detailed script for performing the new social role in the work setting so that the individual might be able to pass or adapt successfully. At the operational level, the prime objective was to provide a coordinated program of compensatory training, education, and access to work opportunity which has been denied this group. Finally, a basic element in the program concept was that these youth need more than a single, isolated block of service; they need a continuity of service that begins in the jail and extends beyond their first job in the community. In order to provide such continuity, four major clusters of activity had to be planned and coordinated:

1. Deficiencies and negative attitudes inherent in the young men themselves would have to be modified to make them attractive to employers and to help them adapt to reasonable demands in the world of work.

2. Improved access to social service resources and better working relationships between social agencies in the community would have to be developed. It was assumed that most of the needed resources already were in existence. What was needed was timely access and capacity for follow-up. Of particular concern were the breakdowns in communication and referral between agencies.

3. Access to good-quality, entry-level jobs would have to be developed. Actual placement in work situations with a low risk of unemployment and with a future potential for advancement would be required.

4. An effective base of public understanding and community support would have to be developed.

Implications for the Type of Training to be Given

Certain implications with regard to the appropriate nature of the training which might be offered to this population have been suggested in the foregoing discussion. They are recapitulated here:

2.

1. The training area selected must have the power to meet and satisfy economic, status, and ego needs of the young men in the jailed population.

2. Training should be provided for an occupation in which critical labor market shortages existed so that trainees would be valuable to employers.

3. The entry-level qualifications for the occupational training selected should not be greater than could be provided in the time and facilities available in jail.

4. The training area selected must lead to a field of work with a viable future.

Training Alone Not Enough, but Helpful

By itself, participation in a well-designed and well-taught program of vocational training is not likely to make "good" citizens out of offenders. The mere acquisition of skills for which there are openings in the job market will not cause inmates to perceive human relationships from the viewpoint of free citizens working in similar jobs. But, such training can be "corrective" to the degree that it has a potential for altering reference group relationships, post-release associations, and inmate perceptions of alternative patterns of response. Most offenders do not return to crime simply as a way of earning a living. Training young men to be IBM operators may not affect criminality directly, but it does stimulate a different attitude toward the world of work and opens the individual to different experiences and new options in deciding how he will spend his life. Further, such special training provides an opportunity to manage the transition from jail to community so that released inmates can be moved into situations which are dominated by essentially non-criminal social relationships. If the ex-inmate can be supported in that transition so the experience is successful and rewarding in his terms, this social situation can be used as a base for developing identification with non-criminal persons and techniques, values, and resources for maintaining such identification. These experiences and commitments reduce the likelihood of recurrent delinquency. Ordinarily, both the working situation and the home neighborhood of the released offender are saturated with attitudes and structural elements conducive to delinquency.

Instead of concentrating on finding improved ways of holding people, the jail should be oriented toward finding better ways of letting them go. Unfortunately, many training programs in jails and prisons are simply better ways of holding people. . .they are more humanitarian ways of keeping offenders occupied while they are in cold storage. To focus on holding activities is to remain fixated at the beginning of the process. Looking forward to release opens the possibility of planning a sequence of deliberate intervention to prevent recidivism by promoting a successful adaptation and adjustment.

Some Guidelines and Tactics

Having established my philosophical and theoretical base, and some general objectives, I can move to a consideration of some guidelines and tactics that we found to be useful.

1. The job developer operating from a base in corrections must develop sound working relations in the family of social agencies in his community. There has been an unfortunate tendency for corrections to develop its own full array of services because they have been relatively isolated from resources already existing in the community. This has resulted in under-staffed, underbudgeted, and makeshift duplication. Employers are besieged with multiple requests for jobs by representatives of many handicapped groups. Even if corrections develops its own placement service it is likely to be at the bottom of the totem pole in approaching employers. Corrections should become thoroughly acquainted with other agency programs and problems in providing service. We should seek to establish reciprocity and develop payoffs to other agencies as they are helpful.

2. Study the community. It is of prime importance to know who the gatekeepers to jobs really are, and the nature of the gatekeeping assignments. Access to some jobs is controlled exclusively by the employers. Access to other jobs is possible only through unions or trade associations. It is possible to structure training to avoid some of these gatekeepers. Thus, in RYT, at the outset, since we were dealing with a single work skill, it was possible to negotiate with specific employers, one at a time. Subsequently, however, when multiple entries to the world of work were required, it became mandatory to deal with a variety of gatekeepers. In this more complex world, it became necessary to have the guidance and strength of a Citizen's Advisory Committee. There was a need for knowledge of shifts in the hiring climate, sympathetic employers, ways of getting support from employees, and for a network of relationships that were not available in the correctional system. Volunteers can be most helpful at many levels in establishing and maintaining relationships.

3. Know employers--the more you know about them, their selection and hiring procedures and problems, the more effective you will be --e.g., will unions allow the flexibility you seek? You should also make yourself aware of the attitudes of the other employees. Often the boss is convinced and helpful, but the employees are not.

Only when you have such a base of knowledge, sound communications and awareness of problems is there a chance to modify, redefine, and engineer jobs and opportunity for our peculiarly handicapped group. A job which is currently viewed as a dead-end may be redefined as a stepping stone. Find these. Build a career ladder.

It is probably misleading to describe such a service function as job development. The employer develops the job--the correctional person is a catalyst.

4. Sometimes the job developer can accomplish his purposes by working to modify hiring restrictions. For example, unrealistic educational requirements may be a barrier. If an employer can be helped to review the educational levels actually required for performance in an entry level position, some openings can be created. Particularly where skill shortages exist is there an opportunity to modify prejudices and unnecessary hiring restrictions.

   Unreasonable restrictions sometimes block people who have been hired from access to career ladders. . . they find they are not considered for promotion, e.g., civil service for ex-inmates, or Negroes.

5. A skilled job developer who knows the community, the labor market, and the employers may help redefine the jobs available. Thus, he may show how the work of a skilled employee can be used more efficiently by separating out tasks requiring a lesser order of experience and skill. These lesser order tasks may then be organized into an entry-level job. Such redefinition and creation of jobs requires a high degree of acceptance from employers and demands a detailed and up-to-date knowledge of the specific working situation. In our experience, only the Citizens Advisory Committee and the union who engaged themselves with our problems were effective in taking this approach. Retired union-men were particularly useful. Often they are willing volunteers.

   Incidentally, if you start using people like this to redefine work roles in the community, you should be prepared to modify your training programs to mesh with the realities of the world of work as they are discovered and identified. Thus, our Advisory Committee reworked our curricula. . .updating and reshaping the program to keep pace with the job market. In addition, our volunteers helped to redefine many of the professional roles in the project to make better use of volunteers at every level.

Job development is a complex multiphasic assignment in correctional settings. The search for solutions must go on at several levels at the same time. It is largely a matter of stimulating and managing social mobility, and of opening channels and eliminating barriers to transition. The effective job developer is a person who has found administrative mechanisms to make opportunities open in natural ways.

IMPROVING THE READING LEVEL OF DISADVANTAGED ADULTS

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Introduction

Disadvantaged adults, institutionalized offenders not the least among them, are characterized by certain distinctive educational, personal-social, and vocational handicaps. Programs designed to train and educate the disadvantaged struggle, often unsuccessfully, to overcome during a relatively short period of time this great cluster of handicaps, one of the more serious being the inter- and intra-individual variability in educational ability and achievement. In a sample of 20-year-old prisoners at Draper Correctional Center, the educational range is from zero grade level through high school, with the actual achievement level at a median of the sixth grade. However, individual achievement test scores present a subtest scatter pattern so great that commonly practiced educational methods usually fail to level off these differences. Both the inter- and intra- individual variability factors demand a heavy concentration on individualized instruction.

Educational Characteristics of Inmates at Draper

Over 50 percent of the offenders at Draper have less than a sixth grade education, a fact which makes it almost impossible to train them in a vocational program. Primarily, the problem is their inability to comprehend the meaning of words they may recognize and be able to pronounce merely as a result of previous exposure in public school systems. This inability to read effectively affects adversely all areas of their training.

In an experimental program at Draper--a forerunner of the MDTA Vocational E & D Project--the use of programed instruction in a totally self-instructional school proved to be highly effective in overcoming the low motivation of inmates toward academic pursuits. Consequently, this educational technique was adopted as the primary means of providing vocational trainees the remedial education they required to master the shop-related theory necessary for entry-level performance in a given trade area. For inmates who are able to read, the use of programed instruction in remedial training continues to be effective.

In order to meet the overall requirements of selecting inmates whose parole review dates approximately coincide with completion of training, it has been necessary for us to accept for vocational training prisoners who are functionally illiterate individuals. These students are unable to function in the remedial course which utilizes the highly individualized progamed instructional technique and are able to learn a trade only on a man-to-man basis, with an instructor demonstrating to each such student each step of the task that is to be done. Even then the inmate is only memorizing a given task and has little idea of its relation to other tasks of the trade simply becuase he cannot comprehend the shop-related classwork.

Without assistance, the trainee who is functionally illiterate cannot achieve academic and vocational performance levels which enable him to compete effectively in the society to which he will be released. "For success in our society, it is necessary for an individual to be able to read the newspapers, to have some knowledge of the laws and printed forms required for everyday life, to be able to fill in an application for employment, and to be trained for a skill in the labor market."[1] While an inmate who is able to memorize the tasks to which he is exposed in a six-month vocational training program can get a job performing menial tasks, he can hardly be considered "skilled" enough to sustain himself in a highly competitive free society.

General Program Structure at Draper

Both the academic and vocational experimental projects at Draper have experimented with various reading improvement programs in order to overcome the problems experienced in training students with low reading levels. The most successful program with which we have experimented is the Reading Improvement Program designed for use with the PerceptoScope, a multi-function machine manufactured by Perceptual Development Laboratories (PDL) of St. Louis, Missouri, and distributed by Link Enterprises, Incorporated, Decatur, Alabama.

In a study to determine the effects of a reading program on overall grade-level gains and individual subtest gains of students in the Vocational E & D Project at Draper Correctional Center, it was concluded that the PerceptoScope's reading program is highly effective in the teaching of reading skills, particularly reading comprehension. We have also learned that it significantly enhances other language skills. (Refer to "An Evaluation of the Effects of an Intensive Reading Program on a Group of Adults at Lower Academic Achievement Levels" which appears in the Appendix to these proceedings.)

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[1] R. Lee Henney. "The Future of Adult Education in Correctional Institutions." Paper delivered before the 96th Congress of Corrections, Baltimore, Maryland. Aug. 28 - Sept. 1, 1966.

All inmate applicants for vocational training who score below 7th grade reading level on the Metropolitan Achievement Test (M.A.T.) are enrolled in the phonics or intermediate level reading improvement program. First, they are administered the PDL Diagnostic Reading Test to determine reading rate, reading comprehension, vocabulary, and story comprehension.

Students enrolled in the Reading Improvement Program are retested at midcourse and again at the conclusion of the program. When midcourse test results are reviewed with them, most of the students are amazed to see that they have made more progress than they had realized. This seems to increase their enthusiasm, and they are also administered a different form of the M.A.T. upon completion of the reading program to determine what effect their participation in the special reading classes may have had on subtest areas other than reading. Generally, students who do not participate in the Reading Improvement Program and have only remedial training serve as control groups.

After 40 hours of instruction in the Intermediate PDL Reading Program, using the PerceptoScope, subjects in the original experiment achieved an overall average increase in grade level of 2.5 which was much higher than the non-participants (other vocational trainees) who gained only 1.1 grade levels. Reading program participants had an average increase in reading levels of 2.5 grades, while the non-participants, using only programed instruction, registered only a .7 grade gain in reading. Among all students who participated in the reading program, the greatest grade gain in reading level was from 4.9 to 9.7, an increase of 4.8.

How the Program Works

Homogeneous groups are established on the basis of scores made on the PDL reading test administered before the reading program begins. These groups receive a combination of group and individual training, beginning with phonics. The intermediate reading program follows the phonics course, with both course units being presented on programed film used with the PerceptoScope. Workbooks are used along with the programed film to provide each student an opportunity to apply, at his own rate, the skills he has developed during group use of the programed film.

Phonics

From time to time, we have students who are unable to function at the intermediate reading level. For instance, these students do not realize the difference between a "long a" and a "short a", nor are they aware of the importance of making the distinction. For these students we employ the PDL Phonics training system which is designed to develop the knowledge of language sounds and the ability to convert these sounds into words.

An orientation film which dramatizes the importance of reading and spelling challenges the student to discover the available benefits to him in learning to read and spell. This group technique also includes an explanation of principles and procedures to be followed in succeeding lessons. Four lecture-demonstration films cover sounds of individual letters, letters with more than one sound, sounds of letters in combination, word sounds, and sentence structure. The teaching material insures numerous opportunities for the student to succeed in early sessions, then moves from the simple to the complex on a step-by-step basis. A series of film loops for recall and association utilize repetition in presenting materials for teaching. Students learn by association. Letters are associated with a common object and then with a sound.

The instructor has the option of using tape recordings to relieve him of repetitive oral demonstration of letter and combination sounds. The recordings present the true sounds of letters and may be repeated as often as necessary.

The duration of instructional time for the phonics training system differs from situation to situation because of the variation in student abilities and the consequent necessity for varying time schedules for completion of elements of the program. For beginning students or those who are slow achievers, the program may require as long as 60 hours. When the program is used for review, it may be presented in approximately 30 hours.

The Intermediate Reading Program

The Intermediate Reading Improvement Program includes 40 lessons. The first lesson is an orientation and motivational film. After this film is presented, each student receives a workbook which contains practice reading selections, pages for notes, and comprehension tests. A chart is also provided so that each student may keep a record of his progress (in terms of both speed and comprehension).

Each lesson deals with one topic. The first 20 of the 40 lessons are presented in the following manner:

Lecture-Article (dealing with lesson topic) - All lectures are read from the screen by the students at a controlled speed. After the lecture-article is completed, there is a short discussion and review.

Tachistoscopic Exercises - During these exercises various types of materials--words, phrases, digits, clauses, discriminations--are flashed briefly on the screen. The students are asked to perceive and say or write down what they have seen. Each drill is begun at a speed which allows early, active, and successful participation by all trainees. The speed is gradually increased, and as the students progress through the lessons, an interesting phenomenon occurs:

The students get so involved that many are begging for more material at a faster speed. They are proud of their achievements, quick to admit their mistakes, and determined to do better on the next flash.

Practice Reading Article - A controlled practice reading article is presented each day. These articles vary in length from 900 to 3,400 words, giving a complete range for checking attention span, concentration, and comprehension skills. An entire page of material is projected, but by the use of a fixation film (mask) the speed at which the student reads is controlled. The mask also controls the number of fixations per line.

After each practice article, the students are given a five question comprehension test. Their scores are transcribed on the aforementioned progress charts. The lessons presented in the foregoing manner are primarily designed to break bad reading habits and to form good ones.

The next 20 lessons are presented to further improve comprehension. They include the following topics:

Paragraph Understanding
Sentence Meaning
Word Meaning Through Structure
Word Meaning Through Context
Paragraph Organization
Outlining

Using the PerceptoScope

The PerceptoScope meets almost all visual-aid needs with one instrument. An electronic device attached to the machine gives the instructor complete control of the timing and thus enables him to use still projection for material requiring extended viewing and discussion. A tachistoscopic projection feature helps students to develop the skill of rapid and accurate perception. Motion pictures shown at speeds of from 1 to 24 frames per second may be stopped and reversed instantly. It is possible to use a front and back film superimposed and projected together for controlled reading exercises that require precise pacing. Moreover, the mechanical gymnastics that are possible with the machine are particularly effective in holding the interest of trainees.

The success of a reading improvement program in which the PerceptoScope is used is dependent upon the attitude and flexibility of the instructor. I have found that some days the reading improvement class is a "drag" for the students, and they enter the classroom with very little enthusiasm. When the students are in this kind of mood, I say, "Look, let's rock the rafters and let the people here in the project know we're alive."

I then introduce the "tach-work" (Tachistoscopic) by pitching my voice to a near shout in an effort to generate enthusiasm and involvement and to set the stage for the students to "blow off" their mood by responding loudly. Generally, it is the same few students who are not enthusiastic and these are the ones whom I must try to inspire.

So, I begin: "Look, I'm running this thing (PerceptoScope) a little faster than recommended, so I don't expect you to get all of the answers right." Some of them do get all the answers right on the first try, however, and I praise them occasionally by saying, "You beat me that time. You are doing better than I."

When I spot a couple of students who are reluctant to respond, I ask, "Why don't you two team up and work on the next exercise together?" If there are more than two students who are lagging behind the group, I suggest that they team up and compete with the other teams. As soon as I feel these students are ready to compete on their own, I break up the teams. Students who gained self-confidence in partnership participation are then usually eager to outdo their former partners.

At the point in the "tach-work" where I begin flashing seven digits on the screen for ½ second, I find many of the students unable to recall all of the seven digits. After encountering this problem several times, I decided to try a new approach: "Just try to get the first four," I challenge the students as I speed up the flash to ¼ of a second. Then, an interesting thing happens. Students who were unable several days before to get four out of four digits flashed at ½ of a second are now able to get four out of seven flashed at the faster speed.

While the students realize it will be more difficult to get four out of seven digits at the faster rate, they seem to like the challenge of being taken a little further than they can go; they try harder, and they accomplish more than when they were trying for the lesser goal. Their reaction calls to mind Robert Browning's words, "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?"

From this point, the students move very quickly, getting all seven of the seven digits flashed at the speed of 1/24 of a second.

While it is true that the programed films have built-in motivation, I find that if I interject a few examples which are keyed to the experiences I know these inmates have had, it helps to clarify directions given to them in the film. In working with the film, "Scanning," for instance, I use the example of going into a department store, hurriedly scanning both the merchandise and the key words on placards, either of which will lead me to the merchandise I want to buy. (In talking about "key words," we are reinforcing the content of the previous day's lesson on "key words" as it relates to the present one on Scanning.)

If the information to be flashed is obvious, such as "pick the date Columbus discovered America from this column of numbers," I ask the students where the correct number was located on the screen. Their correct response assures me they are not just giving an obvious answer.

Since the PerceptoScope makes a slight noise, I have to talk loudly for my voice to be heard, especially to alert the students to be "ready." Loudness is a characteristic with which the students easily identify and by which they express their enthusiasm. Therefore, their responses follow my cue. Should I give directions in a quiet, meek manner, the students would not bother to respond at all. It seems that an aggressive approach to working through the lessons is essential. to getting the students involved, and my approach results in their being aggressive also.

During each lesson, I have an ample length of cord extending from the control of the PerceptoScope to allow me to move around the room, giving each student as much individual attention as possible. Students who are responding correctly are eager for me to recognize their success. Others need a word of encouragement, and I spend most of the time helping them. However, I try to remember to praise the faster students at intervals and to remark frequently after they have responded correctly, "That was very good."

When we first begin a lesson, most of the students get answers right at the low speed of 170 words per minute and immediately want to speed up the lesson. I acknowledge their desire but suggest that we need more practice at this speed, because I realize that a few of the students are not yet ready for the more rapid speed.

The promise of being allowed to work faster allays the impatience of the faster students. Intrigued with the challenge to come, they go ahead and participate in the next few lessons with the slower students.

Where appropriate, I bring some of the directions to the student's attention in a mild joking manner to relax those students who may be getting tense from trying too hard. As long as I keep an attitude of flexibility, I am able to move the group along to the next phase of the reading program without overtaxing slower students or losing the interest of the faster students.

Other Reading Programs

Other reading programs which have been used with varying degrees of success at Draper primarily in the National Institute of Mental Health Project are listed on the Resource Sheet at the conclusion of this paper. Although the environment for the use of these materials is slightly different from the one described in this report, the population is the same.[2]

We have found that the intensity of interest and interaction of the instructor as he reflects the importance of any program of remedial reading development is almost as important as the materials used.

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[2] "There have been several features proposed and adopted by the project to supplement and enhance self-instruction. One of these is the Reading Laboratory wherein a variety of materials and equipment is used... Some group work can be done in areas where deficiencies seem to be common to most learners. The use of a tachistoscope for group warm-up exercises and the variable speed film projector for rate-comprehension exercises is an example. Students study individually from laboratory kits from which they read stories of high interest levels and then take self-graded tests on the content. Other materials of a self-instructional nature are used for vocabulary development. It has been determined also that practice is an important variable in the development of reading skills. Learners, therefore, are encouraged to read one hour a day from a library book of their choice. They are not, however, allowed to read books which are far below their level. It has been shown that students who actively participate in the Reading Laboratory not only enhance greatly their reading abilities but also gain a broader interest in other subject matter and, in general, become better, more inspired learners." John M. McKee, "Progress Report 1962-67." Experimental Project to Increase the Educational Achievement of Institutionalized Offenders Through Programed Instruction. National Institute of Mental Health, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, February 17, 1967.

RESOURCE SHEET
for
Reading Programs used in Experimental Programs conducted by the Rehabilitation Research Foundation at Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Alabama

Phonics
PDL Intermediate Reading Program

Perceptual Development Laboratories
St. Louis, Missouri

Distributed by Link Enterprises, Inc.
P. O. Box 303
Decatur, Alabama

Turner-Livingston Series

Follett Publishing Company
1010 W. Washington Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60607

A series of six short books; each contains about 24 short reading selections followed by comprehension tests. Not only do these booklets give the student practice in reading to increase his speed and comprehension, they also expose him to many topics which are important to his personal-social development. For example, one article explains the step-by-step procedure for opening a bank account. Another is entitled "Buyer Beware" and still another "Paying the Bills." While this series does little actually to teach reading skills, it is very good for practice.

System for Success Dr. R. L. Henney Follett Publishing Company

Each of 28 reading lessons contains a list of from 16 to 26 new vocabulary words; a factual, adult-level reading selection printed in the two-column format of a magazine article; a main idea comprehension check at the bottom of the page on which the article appears; four carefully structured comprehension questions relating to the content of the article; a vocabulary study exercise; and a written spelling exercise.

Reading in High Gear

Introduction to SRA Reading Labs
About 3rd grade level

&

SRA Reading Labs

Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 E. Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Series of stories, color coded to reading level; students read and time themselves; almost completely self-managed. Comprehension tests are self-graded. For varying levels: grade 3 through high school. This program has been used with a great deal of success in the Draper National Institute of Mental Health Self-Instructional School.

Literacy Education

With inmates who were totally illiterate, we have used materials published by the Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc., 2000 P Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Steck-Vaughn Company, P. O. Box 2028, Austin, Texas, 78767; and Systems for Success published by Follett Publishing Company.

The Craig Reader	Craig Corporation 3410 LaCienega Blvd. Los Angeles, California 90016
Distributed by	School Equipment Distributors 319 Monroe Street Montgomery, Alabama

Portable, fully automatic, individual reading improvement program. The variable electronic speed adjustment of the Craig Reader permits a reading speed of from 100 words to over 2,000 words per minute. Rigid, protected, slide units, each containing twelve 35mm frames, are used with the Craig Reader to develop reading skills. Story slides which provide practice are coordinated with student workbooks and comprehensive test booklets.

EDL Controlled Reader (Filmstrips & workbooks)	Educational Developmental Laboratories; Huntington, New York

During training, a moving slot travels across the screen from left to right, covering and uncovering reading materials as it goes. Whether the teacher is stopping and starting the slot for picture games, vocabulary, or oral reading, or using the automatic speeds of from 60 to 1,000 words per minute for silent reading, students' attention is forced to the screen because there is no chance to look back. Can also be used by individuals and teams of two or three. Picture filmstrips for the readiness level, picture-word sentence filmstrips for the pre-primer level, and stories for grade 1-college and adult level help build fluent silent reading skills. Comprehensive Power filmstrips (grades 3-6), divided into paragraphs and sentences, provide special stress on the comprehension skills of recall, association, interpretation, and evaluation.

THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN A FREE SOCIETY

Dr. Joseph G. Colmen
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Introduction

In the Nevada State Senate in Carson City, legislation to abolish gambling at the Nevada State Prison was defeated. The vote, a gambler's dream, was 7-11.

In Cleveland, Ohio, pretzel twisters are at a premium. The city must find 20 unemployed youth who want to twist pretzels or it will lose $35,000 in federal money set aside for a 30-week training program for bakers' helpers. So far, there have been no takers.

Contradictions

These two incidents point up at least two contradictions in our society today. First, the argument between those who wish to punish offenders and those who want to rehabilitate them. Like so many such arguments, we will never reach a single answer, for in a complex world, complex variables like crime and delinquency need many answers, possibly even one tailor-made for each offender. The range of treatments may begin at one end with understanding counseling and at the other with long-term incarceration. Permitting gambling in a State Prison simply points up the schizophrenic uncertainty regarding harsh versus humane approaches to prisoners.

The second contradiction, related to pretzel twisters, reveals the contradiction of jobs and training opportunities going begging, while a substantially large, hard-core population of American citizens remains unemployed. This population too often includes the parolee or releasee from prison.

I do not wish to enter the arena of argument on treatment of offenders, for in this field, I am an amateur. Much like Euripides, the Greek philosopher who when asked to give a talk on sex, demurred with the comment that "sex was hardly a subject for a virgin like me." But I will state my biases, so that when we talk about programs like Draper's and Lorton's and others emerging around the country, there will be no doubt as to where I stand. I am on the side that represents both compassion and common sense: compassion because we are really very ignorant about who is at fault when a human being acts out against society, the human being or the society; common sense because a person who returns as a productive member of that society adds much more in dollars and cents than he takes away by remaining a ward of the State.

When I comment on whether or not the human being or the society is to blame, or both, I do so from the vantage point of the numbers of young people getting into trouble. They are dropping out of school at the rate of nearly one million a year. They are going before the judges after dealing with the police. The Children's Bureau estimates that 11 percent of all children will be referred to juvenile courts for an act of delinquency (excluding traffic) prior to their 18th birthday. The Federal Bureau of Investigation in its Uniform Crime Reports estimates that 1.2 million children under 18 were arrested by police in 1963. In the suburbs psychologists call them neurotic. In the cities frightened adults call them budding criminals.

Dysfunctionalization

Much of the traditional emphasis of the activities and research of social services and social sciences has been to help these youth "adjust" to society. Programs have focused on modifying their behavior by increasing sanctions and imposing external controls through the major socializing institutions.

The plain fact of the matter is that these major socializing institutions have become increasingly dysfunctional in a society characterized by rapid change.

Young people are the early indicators of this dysfunction. They are coming into adolescence at a time when it has increased to critical dimensions. They have had fewer years of accommodation to the socializing institutions, and are therefore less conditioned by their constraints and more apt to rebel against them.

Until this fact of dysfunction is widely grasped, until it becomes the basis for new approaches and new programs, until many persons across the country, both within and without positions of power in the courts, police, schools, the business community, service fields such as recreation, and welfare become committed to re-directing society and its institutions, we can and must expect to live in the midst of increasing unrest and higher delinquency and crime rates.

Secretary Gardner, in his testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor on "The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967," said:

"All of us are engaged in a continuing struggle to understand and to adapt to change. Adolescence has always been a period of change and adaptation, but the moorings on which young people have usually depended or against which they have tested themselves have grown increasingly shaky. The rapid change they perceive in the world around them makes them doubt the usefulness of patterning themselves after their parents in the unknown world of tomorrow.

Circumstances have reinforced what is called by some the 'youth subculture' --the development among our youth of values, behavior and communications that cut across lines of class, race, and geography. Youth are coming to look more to each other for signals than to adults. Of course, they share many significant values with the adult world, but they have some values which set their world apart.

Among nearly all youth this is evident in similarities in dress, language, and style but it is sometimes expressed more seriously in antisocial gang behavior whether in the streets or at Hampton Beach or Fort Lauderdale.

Fortunately, most young people, including most who have engaged in delinquent acts, are able to make the transition to adulthood without serious damage to themselves or others. They go on to lead useful and law-abiding lives. But there are many who are permanently damaged in the transition, who suffer a great sense of personal inadequacy, who are stigmatized as delinquent or who emerge from youth as hardened criminals."

Cost Effectiveness

My other argument for common sense is a cost effectiveness one. Whereas school costs are measured in terms of hundreds of dollars per child per year, penalty costs are measured in terms of thousands of dollars per individual per year. The average cost of maintaining a youngster in a public training school is $3,070 per year. In California, it is estimated that an average combined juvenile and adult criminal career costs the governmental system $10,000. By 1975 that State is expected to spend almost $900 million per year on its police functions, adjudication functions, probation, incarceration and parole functions directly related to crime and delinquency. This does not include the costs of crime itself measured in property value lost or destroyed, or intangible emotional or psychological losses. Effective prevention would reduce such cost considerably.

Further, much of the money spent for such correctional programs seems ineffective. Recidivism among young people who have been institutionalized is 48 percent and large numbers of young people placed on probation commit further offenses.

Prevention

To meet the growing problem, the President has proposed the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967. This Act will support efforts to put into action the best that we have learned. It complements the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. Together, these proposals take a long and carefully measured step towards implementing the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Although its implications are broad, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act is a relatively simple proposition--it has only two titles. It would authorize $25,000,000 for 1968 and necessary sums for the next four fiscal years.

Most significant is a preamble statement to the Act which reads:

> "The Congress finds that many youths, regardless of economic or social background, have special needs which may lead to delinquency unless an attempt is made to reach them; that the best point at which to prevent delinquency is often before a youth is found to be delinquent; that many of the needs are best met as part of the normal environment of growing children and youths, or are only met if the normal institutions and agencies are properly related to one another; and that, to meet these needs, law enforcement agencies, the courts, and correctional institutions must join with other agencies and institutions in our society."

The Act provides funds for Rehabilitative Services, where the full range of community resources and services is used including among others, welfare, education, health, mental health, recreation, job training, job placement, and correction. The Act further provides funds for Preventive Services.

Attorney General Clark has urged that Federal and State governments provide sweeping programs of work for and with youth to combat juvenile delinquency.

"We are failing our children," Attorney General Clark told a House Education Subcommittee hearing on an Administration bill to provide $25 million in Fiscal 1968 for grants to States to set up rehabilitative programs for potential and actual delinquents.

He said youths are "our most precious resources and our most lawless citizens. While arrests of adults declined one percent in 1966, arrests of juveniles increased nine percent. Of all ages from cradle to grave, our 15-year olds are arrested most frequently."

James Vorenberg, Director of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, warned the Subcommittee that "If we hold everything else constant, just go on doing what we are doing today, we can confidently predict that there will be in the next five to ten years a very large increase in the crime rate."

Clark and Vorenberg agreed that the "heart of the crime problem" is the lack of facilities to work with youths before they get into trouble along with inadequate rehabilitative services for those in trouble.

"Today we know that four of five felons were convicted of misdemeanors, generally as youths, before committing their more serious crimes," Clark said.

Vorenberg said the President's Commission recommended a "Youth Service Bureau" in every community to work with delinquents.

Rehabilitation Within the Walls

If the philosophy of rehabilitation makes sense today for delinquents and the external society, it makes equally good sense for the internal world of correctional institutions, particularly if we want to redeem men and women with a sense of dignity, ego strength, socialization skills, desire to participate and individual worth. To do this and to do it well, now seems possible as demonstrated by the firm efforts of those of you whose work has formed the basis of this landmark conference.

Where To From Here?

At the terminus of this conference we are in a pre-release situation just as much as the inmates of correctional institutions of whom we have been talking. We are not quite ready for parole. We must face a question first. The question is: Are we ready to extend the cooperative discussion and work of the more than a dozen federal agencies represented here, and most of their regional and State counterparts, into the days ahead when the hard work comes of putting the nuts and bolts of actual programs together?

To be candid, on the one hand we are not quite ready. These programs of manpower training for prisoners are only slightly less new to us than to them. Like the prisoner who is not completely sure this will work for him, we do not know altogether what they will do either, nor have we identified all of the problems we must solve. Uncertainty breeds caution, if not fear, and it is easier to talk than to act.

On the other hand, we had better be ready at least to attack the problems, for we are going forward. President Johnson stated the mandate simply in his message to the Congress on February 15, two years ago, when he said: "Many new ideas are being developed and applied, with still uncertain results. We cannot wait until they are certain. We cannot tolerate an endless, self-defeating cycle of imprisonment, release, and reimprisonment which fails to alter undesirable attitudes and behavior. We must especially find ways to help the first offender avoid a continuing career of crime."

In the 1966 amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Congress authorized an expanded pilot program in the next two years to push forward the pre-release occupational training of prison inmates.

But more than that--in the experimental and demonstration work of projects represented here and in the experience of agencies represented here--we have more than a little knowledge, if we do put it together.

More than fifty years ago--and well before vocational legislation like Smith-Hughes--an Ohio newspaper editor threw himself into a training program in a boy's reformatory. William Byron Tannahill had been a printer's devil, founder of the first typographical union in Akron, Ohio, and later the chief editor of the old Akron Times. On retirement he was enthused about teaching the printing trade to young men in detention, to prepare them for work when they got out. But after a year he quit in despair, and remarked: "The correctional institution is impossible. It is nothing more than a school in crime."

Our lack of progress since then is not entirely due to absence of effort; the task itself is formidable and we should not underrate it. Our key, it seems to me, is concerted action.

Interagency Communication

A very few years ago this kind of a convocation of Federal, regional, and State officials would not have been heard of. It is only recently that Vocational Education has got mixed up with the Employment Service. Rehabilitation Services would not have been having a date with the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor. All of these, plus the National Institute of Mental Health, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the Office of Education, and others of you would not have been gathered as you have been here at Montgomery, or anywhere else.

There was no enmity among us--just natural distance. We simply perceived our tasks as specialists, each with his own separate constituencies. And what has been true in the past both between and within departments at the Federal level was reflected at State and local levels. Everyone had a defined job to do and plenty to do within it, and further, an efficient cobbler sticks to his own last.

This situation no longer holds true, nor should it. Rapidly changing social, economic, and human occasions are teaching us all new ways of defining problems, and creepingly, new ways of solving them in an age marked by speed. We are transiting with twin carburetors and a supercharger.

Problem Solving Against Moving Targets

Our society is getting immensely larger, much more complex and considerably more compact. All of these trends will continue and accelerate, causing a melding of individual social problems into one great big problem, different from the sum of the parts.

For example, once upon a time the lack of education, while never an ideal, could still be economically sustained. Even illiterates could make a living wage. Today, this breeds a poverty which requires public welfare and forces it in turn to change from being a helping hand to becoming a crutch. As more of these people compact, they create rural and urban slums, in which the total of miserable conditions invites deviant behavior and createsphysical and mental problems. This situation then breeds itself, for the difficulties of the fathers are visited, with interest, on the children.

Now, as a larger affluent society moves steadily away from it, poverty has become more than a condition--never good to be sure--but a sentence that looks like outright oppression. It heats up all social problems. And every concerned organization must undertake an agonizing reappraisal about its own ability to solve them.

The Rehabilitation Services Administration concerned itself for years with physical and mental handicaps that prevented a person from being self-supporting. But what about the handicap just as real, if not quite as tangible as a missing arm or leg, that comes from severe social deprivation. Almost only yesterday, the Rehabilitation Services Administration has been empowered to use its resources and experience to help these individuals too.

Less than five years ago the Department of Labor was concerned primarily with fair labor standards, apprenticeship programs, unemployment insurance administration, a referral of unemployed to employers who sent in requests for labor, and more or less routine services related to a relatively stable, adult labor force. Today, automation, technology, a volatile economy, radical increase in numbers in the labor force, and a host of other problems require it to be in the business of solving a new set of problems. The Manpower Development and Training Act caused a major reorganization of the Department of Labor. The Employment Service--of which I was once a part--is still in major transition, to which its representatives here can testify in detail.

Vocational education is equally radically affected. I could go on, but perhaps the point is made: the promotion of the general welfare, to which the preamble of the Constitution refers as one of the prime justifications of government, is a continuum now on which different services can be distinguished, but not disjoined. We must coordinate, cooperate, mesh with, support, and otherwise reinforce one another.

And this extends all the way down the line to every one of the so-called "grass roots."

Coordination and Cooperation

Certainly the various departments of the Federal government, and bureaus within each, have not learned fully or completely how to put together a picture out of their separate pieces of the jigsaw puzzle. But with pilot and demonstration programs, with Acts like MDTA which invite co-administration by two departments, there has been enough progress to give a new meaning to the "Federal presence" and in some quarters, to cause misplaced rumblings about it. Less noticed, but much more pertinent and promising has been the rapid growth of State and local governments in recent years. In proportion to the total growth in population, the numbers of Federal employees has slightly declined. In proportion to the Gross National Product, the Federal budget has only advanced moderately, and this in spite of the massive growth in world responsibilities. Yet in a comparable period there is no State that has not increased personnel and budget more than 100 percent.

We are in the midst of a rapid resurgence of the assumption of State and local responsibility to the general welfare. This is good, for the buck of general welfare, to use President Truman's phrase, both starts and stops ultimately at the levels where the people live.

I have tried to set concretely and briefly, a kind of philosophic context as a prelude to the exhortation to work together on these correctional programs at State and local levels, and to the warning, that if we don't, we will lose the ball-game again--only maybe with more costly and tragic results this time.

Now we are moving from talking about programs, to getting concrete proposals for them. Normally these will come from the administrators of correctional institutions. They may, to be sure, initiate from any concerned people, but any proposal that is not acceptable to correctional authorities in the various States will simply not be implemented.

This will engage you with other people and institutions to whom your world is at least a little strange. They will not fully understand the implications and requirements of security. They will have things to learn about the prison culture and the distortions it makes on its inmates.

Some problems will surface in the development of a design for a training program. More will not appear until a program is underway. In all cases, it will be necessary to face all problems honestly and frankly, and above all patiently. Indeed, all concerned will have to make up their minds that some problems are never solved--they are only lived through.

Testing, counseling, and intake may require a complicated adjustment to prison classification, to the eligibility and timing of pardon and parole, to the requirements of prison maintenance, and to peculiarities that derive from the fact that although inmates may volunteer for training, they are not necessarily free to take it. And vocational educators and trainers, despite the increasing knowledge they have been gaining in work with the disadvantaged, will find that whereas teaching materials may be the same the teacher will have to learn and divine the subtle differences required in their use.

Multiple Project Development

I do not mean to limit the terms of the development of a total training program to the terms of the pilot program authorized by the 1966 amendments to the Manpower Act. Such may be the bread and butter of a newly developed program in any given institution. But the capabilities of other legislation may also be used. On the main ladder of an MDTA funded program may be built a useful research piece, or the development of program materials, or the provision of some needed supportive service. Where the capabilities of the Vocational Education Act, or Rehabilitation Services Administration, or Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act are concerned, it is worth noting that these funds are largely under individual State control and administration. The degree to which these State public agencies, or other local private agencies may contribute is best explored and worked out locally. Here is where local cooperation can be of the best possible assistance in stretching and making more efficient the tax dollar, and in giving the best coordinated service. No guidelines can be issued to create ingenuity, imagination, and a mutual desire to work together.

This suggests that programs may take different forms and shapes in various places. The experiences of Draper, South Carolina, Lorton, and Rikers Island have been shared in the conference. No one has suggested that any of these is a model to be copied literally anywhere else. They represent experimental and demonstration experience. They have illuminated various facets of the generic problems involved in pre-release training. If we had a model, we would not be elaborating another program, still called a "pilot" program. We have some answers. We must find out a lot more.

The five principal groups represented here: corrections, pardon and parole, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and employment service, are the primary "inner five" that must hang together if their programs for prisoners are not to hang separately. But these must in turn seek support from and be in communication with a wider community structure.

Community Involvement

No one claims that it is simply enough to train a man in an occupation before his release from prison, get him a job when he gets out, and the problem of rehabilitation is solved. Communities should understand what these programs are all about to see what understanding, support, or modification of community services must be developed to strengthen the inmate's capacity to make the grade upon release. Other elements in prison structure besides training the inmates are a long-run part of the process of making incarceration into rehabilitation. These too require public understanding and public money. One of these I understand is close to the heart of Commissioner Frank Lee here in Alabama, namely, the provision of training programs for the custodial staff.

In any dozen Americans, one probably finds three or more dozen affiliations with churches, service clubs, civic organizations or fraternal orders. These are the places to which to carry the message and develop an informed opinion.

Expectations and Accomplishments

The community must be approached with candor and with an appeal to its responsibility.

It would not be realistic to promise miracles, for with this would go the guarantee of disillusionment. These programs should not be oversold with the expectation that overnight, and as a result of education and training programs in prisons, recidivism will be wiped out. It must be borne in mind, for example, that 70 percent of the trainees admitted to the program here at Draper were already repeaters. They had been in prison two or more times before. In fact, it is disconcerting to take a random look at files at almost any prison and see how many of the inmates began a career of successive incarcerations in the very early teens and even sub-teens. No more than a board that has been put under warp for a long period of time will a boy or a man get straightened out easily. It is hoped and expected that the training programs will make a positive impact. It is believed that they are an essential part of a rehabilitative process but not the whole of it. We must be honest enough to admit that we have neither identified all of the problems to be solved, nor do we have answers to all issues we have been able to identify.

We can, I am convinced, make a case in the hard coin of the realm. The cost of crime, processing the criminal, keeping him for a while, and turning him back into it again in a kind of wheel that just turns, but doesn't go anywhere, is an enormous cost and almost totally unproductive in economic terms. If it cost twice the money to make even a significant dent in this cycle, it would be a good long-run economic investment. Yet I do not believe that we need apologize for an appeal to salvage the spark of worth we believe to reside in every human being.

If we have achieved somewhat of that effect by means of a continuously revolving door, we know we have simply fumbled away our better intentions. Society does not have to be solely responsible for any individual, to recognize its deep implications in the condition of all individuals. With the same two strikes against us at the start that some of these had, or with the absence of support at a critical moment that any one of us would give to one of our own, it would be a pretentious one among us who could say he would not be standing in the same shoes on the inside looking out.

Not everyone has the opportunity that has been thrown our way. As the Crime Commission report pointed out: "The underlying problems are ones that the criminal justice system can do little about. The unruliness of young people, widespread drug addiction, the existence of much poverty in a wealthy society, the pursuit of the dollar by any available means are phenomena the police, the courts, and the correctional apparatus, which must deal with crimes and criminals one by one, cannot confront directly. They are strands that can be disentangled from the fabric of American life only by the concerted action of all of society."

That small part of it about which we can do something now stands before us as a challenge and a hope. As H. G. Wells said: "Civilization is merely a race between education and catastrophe." With that motivation in mind, it is now for us to tackle that small piece in the jigsaw while other institutions of our society tackle others, in better schools, civil rights, housing, poverty, so that in the end we will see the final beautiful picture, every man with every opportunity to live the full, productive, satisfying life for the benefit of all.

DIGEST OF PANEL: THE ROLE OF FEDERAL AGENCIES--SOURCES OF FUNDING

The representatives of different Federal departments, or agencies within those departments, discussed sources of Federal funds with particular reference to funds which could support some part or parts of a manpower training or rehabilitation program for offenders. The significant points are summarized by agency.

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)

The National Institute of Mental Health is a major division of the Public Health Service, under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Institute has a large interest in manpower development and training, focusing its attention heavily on the training of mental health personnel, both at the professional and nonprofessional levels.

An important center within the Institute is the Center for the Studies of Crime and Delinquency. This center has six objectives:

- It serves as a focal point for and coordinates the National Institute of Mental Health's activities in crime and delinquency.
- It analyzes and evaluates current research and related program developments in crime and delinquency.
- It stimulates and develops appropriate programs in research, service, demonstration, and training.
- It recommends the extent to which such means as research and training grants, contracts and conferences should be used to develop and support these programs.
- It collaborates with organizations outside of the Institute to facilitate program development.
- Lastly, it stimulates communication of appropriate information through consultation and the development of conferences, committees, and publications.

Through March of 1967, NIMH had made 332 grants for research, demonstration and training in areas related to crime and delinquency. Sample titles of some of the projects are "Factors Affecting Drug Addiction in Minors," "Community Mental Health Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," and "A Self-Instructional Program for Youthful Offenders." The latter is the Draper project which is one of the most successful funded.

Tremendous support is being given by NIMH to the entire field of crime and delinquency. There will be new mechanisms and funds available within the years to come relating to mental health facilities and training of personnel. The regional office role in all of this will become more and more important with the increased responsibilities now being delegated to the regional offices of HEW. For those who have any interest in exploring the mechanisms or grants which might be available through NIMH, contact should be made through some appropriate regional office of HEW for guidance in planning papers or procedures in seeking a grant.

Titles I and III--The Elementary and Secondary Education Act
Office of Education, HEW

Funds available under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, are mainly for disadvantaged children in areas where there is a high concentration of low income families. This is concerned with prevention, not cure.

Limited funds are available for neglected children in institutions. There may be more money available in this category this year. Title III funds may be used for the development of innovative centers. These funds go to local school districts. There may not be much in these titles for correctional institutions, but the administrators of the Act will be glad to discuss any proposal. One should make inquiries through an HEW regional office, or address Mr. Pat O. Mancini, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20202.

Section 251
The Manpower Development and Training Act
U. S. Department of Labor

Section 251 was added in the 1966 amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act to provide for a two year expanded pilot program of training inmates of correctional institutions prior to their release. Programs under this section will be 100 percent federally financed. The Manpower Administration Order and Guidelines for Administration are now available. Five points about this section are most crucial:

a. Administration of these projects will be a tripartite affair among the Department of Labor (through the Employment Service), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the various correctional institutions.

b. The Department of Labor is looking for programs that will cover all of the variables in correctional training.

c. Projects must be initiated by correctional institutions. They should submit a prospectus of their total program to Washington to see if their particular program will fit into a national design.

d. Training will have to be institutional in nature. It may be either on or off the site of the correctional institution. It will not be possible to do on-the-job training off-site. Some inmates may get an incentive pay of $20 per week, up to a total of $750 gate money. If this is anticipated, it should be included in the prospectus. Programs should be total--occupational, remedial, educational, counseling, job development, placement, and follow-up.

e. The current amount of funding anticipated is $9½ million per year for each of two years. The approximate number of trainees anticipated is 5,000 per year.

It is to be noted also that regular MDTA programs for prison inmates may be conducted on the 90-10 Federal-State matching basis, if such programs are included in an approved State plan.

The Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education and Library Services
Office of Education, HEW

In addition to participating in the administration of the Manpower Development and Training Act, this Bureau in the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare administers three other acts which can be of support in the field of correctional rehabilitation or training:

The Library Services Act--The resources of this Act can support literacy training through planning grants and money for library services in correctional institutions as part of a package to raise literacy levels.

The Adult Education Act--Funds can be available here for Basic Adult literacy programs not tied to any other kind of program.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963--This Act has funds available for limited educational programs for persons with special needs. These are not experimental and demonstration programs, but regular ones. They would have to become part of a State's approved plan for vocational education funds. The first point of approach would be the State departments of vocational education.

The Rehabilitation Services Administration, HEW

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act has been amended to enable inclusion of services to persons with special handicaps other than physical or mental. Offenders may be served in institutions and outside of them. The current VRA emphasis is on specific programs centered around direct rehabilitation of the public offender. Some examples of current activity in the southeastern region will illustrate the range of support under the basic Section 2 provisions of the Act:

Georgia--A facility has been established at Alto, Georgia, which has developed into a comprehensive medical, psychological, social, and vocational program, with appropriate field staff assigned throughout the State for follow-up.

Tennessee--A program has been established with 90 percent Federal funding, aimed at upgrading the personal and social adjustment programs in corrections and is tied in with some specific vocational training activity. There is also a follow-up field program.

South Carolina--This State has probably the most comprehensive program.

a. The State Department of Corrections and the State Rehabilitation Department have established a reception and diagnostic center through a combination of three funding mechanisms, two of which are 90 percent Federal funds. This facility receives all prisoners assigned to the State department of corrections, and through a comprehensive screening program consisting of medical, psychological, social, and vocational components arrives at a tentative plan for a given inmate's "rehabilitation" program from initial confinement through release and job placement.

b. Plans are well underway for the initiation of a work-release program whereby rehabilitation and corrections will join hands in the planned training, placement, and ongoing counseling of appropriate public offenders.

c. An ongoing, effective, pre-release center has been operational for some time under the basic Section 2 program. All public offenders are assigned to this center 30 days prior to release. Concentrated counseling, evaluation, and job placement are carried out there and the offender is followed up at this critical stage of his life.

d. South Carolina also is in the final stages of the development of a youthful offender program. It is building a new youth corrections center, using a lot of vocational rehabilitation ideas.

In addition to these service programs directed to the offender, there are other provisions of the Act which, under certain conditions, can be utilized for staff training. Sections 4 and 6 of the Act both deal with staff training within the overall rehabilitation movement. Indeed a variety of funding resources are available in vocational rehabilitation, once the specific areas of training are identified and given appropriate priorities. These latter could differ substantially however, from State to State. The initial point of contact for any proposal for use of VRA funds is the State department of vocational rehabilitation in any State in which a program is to be implemented.

The Office of Juvenile Delinquency
Welfare Administration, HEW

The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development was established in September 1961 to administer the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offense Control Act of 1961. At this time it has no granting funds. The Act expires as of June 30, 1967. However staff from the office will continue to monitor projects already funded and will give technical consultation.

New funding requests in this area should be directed toward the new Administration Bill "The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967." Since this bill is in its initial stages of hearings, it is premature to describe application procedures although guidelines are being prepared. Interested persons may contact Miss Virginia Burns, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Individual and Family Services.

The bill envisions a 5-year program to help States and localities combat crime. It would "provide Federal assistance to courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to increase their capability to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to assist research efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency and for other purposes."

The bill would provide for planning, preventive, and rehabilitative services under Title I of the bill. Title II of the bill provides for demonstration and research projects, as well as technical assistance.

Under Title I, Part A of the bill would provide for state and local planning for comprehensive state or community-wide plans relating to juvenile delinquency and technical assistance, planning of services for diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of delinquent youth or youth in danger of becoming delinquent.

Title I, Parts B and C provide for rehabilitative and preventive services. By way of example, it could be anticipated that grants could be given to improve juvenile courts, e.g., improve the intake or information process, or to allow staff to assume new and different roles within the community. It would be the intent to build up court services. Programs and services which would provide alternative correctional systems, e.g., self-help homes, half-way houses, etc., would be applicable. Work-release and educational-release programs of correctional systems to prepare youth for return to society would also be included. In the preventive area, Title I, Part C could involve such things as new careers programs and student centers to help school dropouts.

Title II, which is concerned with research and technical assistance will serve as a base for innovative demonstration projects, much like those conducted by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, as well as research projects.

Questions to the Panel on Federal Funding

1. Question: Are studies of sex offenders going on and are grants available for such studies?

Answer: Research in treatment approaches in aspects of sex deviancy could be funded by the Center for Studies of Mental Health and Social Problems, NIMH. Two sources of information are suggested: (1) Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. The special Center for Research on Sex founded by Kinsey, has the most complete library available; (2) Scientific Information Services Regarding Sex, Dr. Mary Calderone, New York. This organization is devoted to research, treatment, and the dissemination of information in the field of human sexuality.

2. Question: Can Section 251, MDTA give consideration to persons under work-release programs, and if so which of the five points mentioned in the panel would apply?

Answer: All five points apply. This is off-site training, and offenders are still under institutional jurisdiction.

3. Question: If money is confined to institutional training under Section 251, MDTA, is there nothing for on-the-job training?

Answer: There will be no on-the-job training outside walls in competition with free workers. There is a possibility of getting it inside. This is true as long as the amendment reads as it does.

4. Question: Can trainees under Section 251, MDTA, attend vocational schools outside the prison?

Answer: Yes, if they are still under institutional jurisdiction.

5. Question: Can parolees have training under Section 251, MDTA?

Answer: Parolees are eligible for services as disadvantaged persons under regular MDT programs.

6. Question: Could funding for an institution go across the board to incorporate all the approaches that have been cited here today, i.e., could any one agency fund a total approach, or is funding separated?

Answer: There is no single funding agency that could span all the range of services available.

7. Question: In that case (following up on above) whom does one contact?

Answer: Any of the agencies. If the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor gets a total picture, it will contact other agencies and ask them to look at a proposal.

8. Question: To what extent is the Department of Labor going to provide technical assistance under Section 251 of MDTA and how much will they monitor a project?

Answer: That question cannot be answered definitively yet. There will be some monitoring and technical assistance will be given, as the Department is able, on request.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR INMATES OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

I. State Work-Release Programs

The following States have work-release laws:

Arizona
California
Florida
Hawaii
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Maryland
Iowa
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
Missouri
Montana
Nebraska
North Carolina
North Dakota
Oregon
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Of these 25 States, many admit only misdemeanants. Some allow felons. In some States the laws have not yet been implemented.

II. Federal Legislation of Relevance:

(see following pages)

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
89-333	Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965 (H.R. 8310)	11/8/65	To amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems and for other purposes.
89-178	Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act	9/10/65	Amends Vocational Rehabilitation Act to authorize grants to non-government agencies to pay part of the cost to carry out research and study of personnel practices and current and projected personnel needs in the field of correctional rehabilitation. Establishes in HEW the National Advisory Council on Correctional Manpower and Training, which can make grants to non-government agencies for research and study of personnel practices, needs, and training resources in the field of correctional rehabilitation. An appropriation of $500,000 is authorized for FY 66, and $800,000 for two succeeding fiscal years.
87-274	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961	9/22/61	To provide demonstration and evaluation grants, short term training grants, and technical assistance to rural and urban communities for development of techniques to prevent and control juvenile delinquency, and to promote youth development.

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
			The program also seeks to encourage coordination of efforts among governmental and non-governmental agencies concerned with such problems.
88-368	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act Extension (H.R. 9876)	7/9/64	To amend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 by extending its provisions for two additional years and providing for special projects.
88-210	Vocational Education Act of 1963 (H.R. 6143)	12/18/63	To strengthen and improve the quality of vocational education opportunities in the nation, to extend for three years the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress (federally affected areas) and for other purposes. Can support vocational training in correctional institutions if made part of the approved state plan in the respective States.
89-794	Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 as amended	11/8/66	Adds Part D, Section 251 to the Act to authorize an expanded program under the Act to develop and carry out experimental and demonstration programs of training and education for persons in correctional institutions who are in need thereof to obtain employment upon release.

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
			Regular (non E & D) MDT programs in correctional institutions may be operated as part of a State plan.
89-197	Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965	9/22/65	Provides Federal assistance by grants or contracts to improve criminal justice and law enforcement. Some of these grants involve personnel training and assistance to work-release training. The Attorney General can make grants to any public or private nonprofit agency, for providing professional training and related education to improve the quality of State and local law enforcement and correctional personnel.
	(This legislation is pending absorption in "The Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act of 1967")		
--	Law Enforcement and Assistance Act of 1967 (pending in Congress)	--	Grants to States for comprehensive planning. Improvement of equipment and training. Fifty percent grants are to be available for construction of new facilities.
79-487	Provision for Mental Health Research in PHS	7/3/46	Under both of these Acts, the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency (National Institute of Mental Health) makes grants and contracts for research involving education and training in correctional institutions.
84-911	Amendments to above	1955	

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
--	Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967 (pending in Congress)	--	To emphasize new designs and programs in prevention and rehabilitation.
90-31	Amends Title V Public Health Service Act	6/24/67	Provides research, training, and demonstration grants to Federal institutions, including Bureau of Prisons, under same provisions as had applied to non-Federal institutions.
89-749	--	--	A formula grant to States for a comprehensive mental health program. States may channel money here into manpower training projects in the field of corrections in crime and delinquency.
88-164	--	--	Provides for constructing and staffing community mental health centers. Staffing services can be used for new services in corrections and training.
89-105	Amends 88-164		
89-176	The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965	9/10/65	An Act to amend Section 4028 of Title 18, U.S.Code, to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. Establishes or makes provisions for "residential treatment centers" (halfway houses), "work furloughs" (work-release plans), and "extension of confinement up to 30 days" (leave for funerals, to obtain medical services, or "other compelling reason consistent with the public interest").

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
--	The Correctional Rehabilitation Act of 1965	--	Provides for nationwide analysis in resolving serious shortage of qualified manpower in the correctional field.
--	The Federal Prison Industries Act of 1934	--	Vocational training with on-the-job experience is provided to prisoners in order that they may obtain the necessary skills and work experience to secure employment upon their release. Special emphasis is placed on youth. All inmates are paid on an incentive wage plan which enables them to exceed slightly the approved hourly rate. The average monthly wage rate per inmate employed is $38.
89-10	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)	4/11/65	Title I of this Act supports local education agencies to serve youth up to age 21 with special disadvantages.
89-750	Amendments to ESEA	11/3/66	Amends Title I, ESEA to specify youth of neglect or delinquency who are in institutions, and also children of migrant parents.
75-308	Untitled	8/16/37	Enabled U.S. Department of Labor to establish Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The Bureau has worked with Federal prisons to establish and register apprenticeship programs, via Joint Apprenticeship Training Councils.

PUBLIC LAW	TITLE	DATE	PURPOSE
89-750	Adult Education Act of 1966	11/3/66	Title III enables encouragement and expansion of basic educational programs for adults to enable them to overcome language limitations, to improve their education in preparation for occupational training and better employment, and to become more responsible and productive citizens. The funds are administered by the individual States which may, at their discretion, make grants to prison schools. Under Section 309, some grants may be made directly from the National office.
62-116	Untitled	4/9/12	Establishment of Federal Children's Bureau (now in Welfare Administration, HEW). No direct grants, but can give technical assistance and issues various pertinent studies. Where juvenile delinquency departments in States are part of the Welfare Department, some funds may be available to expand staff and services to juvenile delinquents.
88-452	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	8/20/64	To mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the U.S. Has the capability to fund programs of training for delinquents and prisoners.
89-511	Library Services and Construction Act	7/19/66	Can be involved in literacy training to provide planning grants and money for library services for correctional institutions as part of a package to raise literacy level.

PANEL: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INMATE POPULATION

REMARKS

John C. Watkins
Warden, Draper Correctional Center
Elmore, Alabama

Introduction: Focus On the Poor Risks

"Correctional agencies are spending public funds on 'good risks' who do not need the program in order to perform satisfactorily. Furthermore, these 'good risks 'are receiving more than their share of the available program budget."[1] So contends J. Douglas Grant. Accepting Grant's research-based contention as true, I would like to begin by urging that manpower training programs in correctional institutions devote at least equal attention to the poor risks--the hard core recidivists whose problems are the problems society must solve if it is to get the monkey of our presently constituted penal system off its back. I would really like to see us concentrate our efforts on this segment of the inmate population, for their influence on their fellow prisoners is such that it is they who will make or break any rehabilitation program we devise. If we succeed with them, our success with the others is assured. (What we learn from this group should be very useful with quantitatively less affected subjects.) Therefore, it is the characteristics of these inmates--the poor risks--that I shall talk about.

Socially and Emotionally Immature Individuals

Most of you here are in people-oriented professions, so there is no necessity to remind you that we are talking about a group of individuals, not a faceless mass in a white suit. What you may not be aware of, however, is that they may demand--and need--an inordinate amount of individual attention, particularly as your efforts with them begin to show results. Perhaps this hunger for attention is a manifestation of what I consider to be their dominant characteristic: social and emotional immaturity. This immaturity is a direct result of the problems which beset them early in life, and it is a direct cause of the problems which beset them now. Thus it is our problem.

Before mentioning some of the other ways in which this immaturity manifests itself, let's consider why the state exists. For the most part, these men have similar backgrounds. The social and economic barriers they face upon release from prison have been a fact of life for them since their lives began. They are from lower echelons of society--the disadvantaged, if you will. As is frequently true in this stratum, their homes are female-dominated, being either fatherless or inhabited by fathers who have abdicated their masculine role. These boys are deprived of the strong male role model they must have in order to achieve their own masculinity.

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[1] Riessman et al, eds., Mental Health of the Poor. J. Douglas Grant "It's Time to Start Counting" (New York, The Free Press, 1964), p.471.

When one of these boys reaches the "gang" age which is normal for all children, the gang provides his route of escape from "Mama" and his means of finding his maleness. For the normally developing boy, the "gang" age is just a way station on the road to emotional maturation. While he too identifies with his gang and, to some extent, acts out some of his normal revolt against authority as personified by his parents, he remains in touch with "home base," so to speak. Not so the boys we are concerned with. They embrace the group with great intensity, even fervor, and take on its value system to the exclusion of all others. This value system is aggressive, anti-social, anti-authority. They don't return to "home base," and their emotional growth is stunted. (Many of them become school dropouts at about this time. Along with the other reasons we assign for their dropping out, I wonder if the fact that so many teachers are women has a bearing here. Is dropping out of school another escape from a female dominated world?) They speedily learn to carry on various kinds of criminal activities. Inevitably they are arrested, convicted, and sentenced to correctional institutions.

Transition to the Prison Sub-Culture

Operating within most, if not all of these correctional institutions, is an inmate social system which provides its members a value system, a way of life, a design for living, and a complex code of things to be done and not to be done. We call this system the criminal sub-culture. This culture is dominated and perpetuated primarily by leaders, each of whom gathers around himself a circle of followers. These circles resemble the boy-gangs of the outside world. They are, in fact, an extension of the criminal sub-culture outside the institution. They carry on illegal and anti-administration activities. When one of the boys about whom we are talking arrives in prison, he finds a ready-made substitute for his gang awaiting him there. Can we really expect him to do anything but gravitate to this gang which provides the only framework within which he knows how to operate comfortably? He becomes a part of the "convict culture," thereby taking the path which carries him further away from normal emotional growth.

The Characteristics of the Inmate

How does this emotional immaturity manifest itself? (Incidentally, this inmate would doubtless be the first to scoff at my thesis. He considers himself to be a tough customer, and he equates toughness with maleness.) First, this inmate lives in the "now." There is no sense of purpose in his life. He has had little or no experience in setting and proceeding toward goals, particularly long range goals. He probably thinks the word itself has something to do with a football game. What he considers to be his "plans" are more like daydreams. Their fruition is dependent on fortuitous circumstances that he merely assumes will come about.

He has a low tolerance for frustration, demanding immediate gratification of his desires. He is an "acting out" person; his anger is vented on the nearest object. He is probably in prison because he reacted to society's normal demands by attacking his environment. When he acts, it is usually in response to an immediately perceived stimulus.

He is self-centered. Any event is interpreted in the light of its effect on him. It's usually interpreted as being directed toward him.

He is an expert at self-justification. He can excuse, explain, or defend himself and his actions as the case may require. Did he steal a cigarette lighter? No, it was lying on the floor, and it is his habit to pick up anything he sees lying on the floor. Even if it were lying on the floor (as it wasn't), didn't he realize that it belonged to someone else? No, he knew that if anyone had lost a lighter, something would have been said about it. The guards would be shaking all of the students down.

Underlying these traits which are symptomatic of emotional immaturity is a smoldering, nondirected anger which he doesn't understand or know how to cope with. This anger remains below the surface until some real or imagined injury causes it to erupt, sometimes in spectacular fashion.

His personality is further complicated by his defeatist outlook. He has had little or no experience with success, and he has long since ceased to expect it, if indeed he ever did. Not for him the philosophy "I am the master of my fate." "Born to lose" is the motto he has adopted and is frequently tattooed with, and it relieves him of the responsibility of trying to do anything. What's the use--he'd only mess up again.

He attempts to manipulate those about him, and he gets to be pretty expert at it. This characteristic isn't the exclusive property of the prison inmate, but it does seem to be his habitual approach to other people.

His motives for applying for any sort of training may have little resemblance to the motives of a "free world" applicant. Regardless of what he may tell you, self-improvement has little place in his scheme of things. He's probably seeking to avoid a work assignment he detests--working on an Alabama farm in July can be pretty brutal. Or he may think he can manipulate the personnel to his own advantage, or play them against the custodial personnel. He may be thinking in terms of the tips he's heard he may receive. Maybe he wants to destroy the program. There's no way to determine for sure. This is a complicated human being we are dealing with.

The Process of Change

And deal with him we must. I think we have to begin by providing a climate in which he can further his emotional development. I can't tell you how we can do it. The method that has worked for me has been detailed elsewhere, so I will say here only that it involves, among other things, standing as the "father" figure he has lacked; giving him the discipline he needs and subconsciously wants; giving him something to believe in; and refusing to allow him to manipulate me. It is an attempt to redirect his demonstrated capacity for loyalty and adherence to a code of behavior. It is undertaken with his full knowledge of what I am doing. It is a time-consuming, self-consuming process. It can be a very rewarding one. Unfortunately, it can't be undertaken with a whole prison population by one person at one time. I have concentrated on the leaders of the criminal sub-culture in the belief that their followers will continue to be their followers, regardless of the direction in which they move.

Prison administrators have traditionally been cast in the role of "people watchers." Many of us, perhaps even most of us, have not relished this role. We have preferred to be and have attempted to be "people changers" instead. Such a conference as this is an encouraging sign that society now sees the latter as the role we should play. The long years of "people watching" may thus at last pay off. We have learned a great deal about our charges as we have watched them. This knowledge can serve as a sound basis for planning and building the kinds of programs they need.

Moderator: It is always a pleasure to hear from Warden John Watkins of the Draper Correctional Center. Warden Watkins has earned a rapidly expanding reputation as a dedicated, progressive, and capable public servant in the vanguard of correctional reform in the United States. He is not afraid of new ideas. He does not shrink from an unorthodox style. He has immense personal energy for the task. But he has not aimed to stand alone. He worked hard to bring the MDT program to Draper. He has given it his wholehearted support and cooperation.

In addition to remarks from Commissioner MacDougall from South Carolina, and Mr. Tom Adams, from the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower, we shall hear from two ex-inmates from the Draper Institution. Ned Jones has been out for 9-years now. He is a product of the personal energies of Warden Watkins, having been released before there was a manpower training project here. Ned has proved that he can make it successfully. Incidentally, Ned recently went to the semi-finals in a National Toastmaster's club contest.

Gary Nolan has been out only 5-months. Gary is primarily a product of the MDT program. He was trained in barbering, but is now working for a warehousing company.

Because of some of the public discussion about inmates in the presence of these young men, I have sensed that some of you are self-conscious for them. I assure you that you can forget that. Having been here before and watched the Warden at work, and watched the program work with young men like these, I can vouch for the fact that they face the "gut issues" here with candor and the utmost realism. These men have learned to look at themselves and their past with a realism some of us might envy. I believe tonight you will get a feeling for that yourselves.

REMARKS

Ellis C. MacDougall
Commissioner of Corrections
State of South Carolina

Handling inmates in a prison is a challenge. Some time ago we established a Jaycee chapter in the prison at Columbia. We had seventy members in it. The local Jaycee chapter of 450 members came out for a tour and dinner at the prison. As they left they shook hands in a line with some of us, me included. One of our Jaycees went through the line and left with them.

I'm a damyankee, but I'm proud to be part of Southern corrections. The South is progressive in corrections and the heart of it is Alabama and Commissioner A. Frank Lee and John Watkins. Why? Because we are willing here now to try things that are different.

There is a great building program in Florida. There is fine research here in Alabama. There is expanding work-release in Texas, and some new program ideas in Mississippi.

In South Carolina we are looking to a new era. For years we planned a prisoner's career in prison. Now we try to get him out as fast as we can. The day he walks in, we plan to get him out.

Merely endowing a man with a trade isn't enough. We must attack all the areas of his needs, such as John Watkins has mentioned. Our new diagnostic center will open next month.

Our project under MDTA tries to plan two careers for prisoners, for we do get some sentenced to a long term. We plan one in-service training program for institutional use and a release trade for a job outside.

Many new things are coming for a new day in corrections has arrived. This conference is a sign of it also. We of South Carolina are most happy to be here and to share with you in the workshops some of the things we are doing, and to hear from you things that may benefit us in our common desire to meet the needs of our inmates so they can leave us, and never come back.

REMARKS

William T. Adams
Associate Director
Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training
Washington, D. C.

It has been five years since I worked in a correctional institution. For five years prior to that I worked in such an institution in Golden, Colorado. So tonight I am really trying to think back and draw on memories which stand out for me. I did a number of research studies there, but I am glad that there have been invited here tonight several of the boys from the Draper Institution. They can tell us most about prisoner characteristics.

Two words that stand out most to me are (1) alienation--the inmate feels outside of the stream of life--sees himself as "different," and (2) anger, stemming from an intensity of feelings bottled up inside.

I saw about five individuals a day and asked each one how he saw himself. They would say: "I'm dumb. I'm stupid" or give some very negative reaction as applied to a concept of self. And I think there is very little difference between young and old offenders in this.

Few had any significant relationships with any "significant others."

They were generally good at manipulative skills, but very poor at abstraction and verbal skills.

They generally saw the world as dull and boring, not making much sense.

They did not have much to do and yet their lives were complicated and filled with lots of problems. They were fearful to tell about it and could not express themselves well about their problems.

They do not trust other people. Most people don't try to con unless they do not trust others. They feel society isn't honest with them.

These people need help and really want it, but their lack of trust precludes them from reaching out.

Few had any meaningful roots in society. Their world was filled with mobility and changing characters. In their world predictions were difficult to make. They could not remember the names of many people.

Of relevance to manpower development and training, I would see the following:

a. These individuals have been failures in education and they do not want to go back to school. Moreover schools make it easy for them to drop out. They are more responsive to things they can feel, touch, or manipulate.

b. They have a most unrealistic view of work and have had little opportunity to see work as a meaningful career. Those who did have fathers could not tell anything that the fathers did. They found it hard to tell about problems they had in their work-release programs. They did not know what to expect or what was expected of them.

c. They have little capacity to sustain themselves without intensive support in the community.

d. They have trouble with the "role" concept. Theirs is a children's power struggle. They give an outside appearance of being attached to their peer group, but really they are most attached to families and the outside. Peer group attachments can be broken down easily. They want contacts with their families, but they find them most hurtful.

REMARKS

Ned Jones
Former Inmate
The Draper Correctional Center

I can tell you this--it is more pleasant to be out than in. I spent 20 years of my life believing that no one cared a damn about me or what I did. And since I have been out I have made mistakes that I could have been sent back to Draper for, but Warden Watkins came to me and asked me what the problem was. He cared enough to try--and that is the most significant thing in my life.

(Question from the Warden: "For a fellow who intends to go straight, isn't the hardest thing the task of finding his way in the outside world?")

Jones: Yes. You have good intentions but go back to the same environment. You come out and intend to join the clubs, go to church, and find that on $60 a week you can't make it in the convertible set. So you drift back. Why should you struggle when you see you are losing anyway. But even though you are not a saint, you can still make some allowances and decide to go straight.

Question: Did you have other help beside the Warden?

Jones: Yes. I identified with what Warden Watkins stood for--dedication. He stood for an ideal. I have met people I worked with since who have given inspiration by means of a similar dedication.

Question: Was there impoverishment in your family? Was your relationship with your parents significant?

Jones: I had no father I knew. My stepfather was an alcoholic. I did not realize that I had substituted a gang culture for family. I just wanted to find out why other kids had dimes and I never had any, and I took the path of least resistance.

But I am not crying about the past. I am in sales in real estate. I have been with Cadillac and Allied Van. I expect to have a good car, good whisky, a good house, and generally to enjoy myself.

Question: Do you feel it is hard to break peer group relationships?"

Jones: When Warden Watkins first came to me in the prison, I had a good loan racket going and paid someone else to do my soft job. The Warden broke up my racket and put me to work. I did not want to be like the old-timers but I didn't know what to do. We talked and he showed me how I could move from one side to the other. It is more difficult to do that than it is to move from poverty to money in the free world. If you get thick with the Warden you are a rat. It is hard to break away.

Question: Was it important that it was the Warden who was following you up?

Jones: I was impressed with his intelligence. Here was a guy with intelligence enough to talk to me about what I needed. He could have been a guard. But he did the followup personally.

Question: Why are the first three months out the hardest?

Jones: You are all fixed up to go straight. But like an athlete has to be conditioned, so do you. When you leave the coach, you tend to do less and less. In prison when things don't go right, there is security. The people in prison are your kind of people. But when I got out the people on the outside were not my kind of people.

Question: Can you be of help to others who come out?

Jones: Definitely. A parole officer can also. He can tell how to make it but there is a tendency to disbelieve him. But if I tell a new fellow I made it, it is different. Some people have come to me. I have helped get them jobs.

Question: Has your help to others been useful to you in staying straight?

Jones: Yes. But I can't be driving a 9-year old car and wearing a motheaten suit and say "Yeah, I made it--here's how you do it." I have to be selfish about it.

Question: Do most inmates have a respect for academic, intellectual attainment?

Jones: No, most do not. Most are materialistic.

REMARKS

Gary Nolan
Former Inmate
The Draper Correctional Center

I am not sure what to say--I guess I am plumb dazzled and skeered.

I was locked up for 11 years. . I was on a chain gang in another State for a long time. Over there, anytime they wanted you to do anything, they hit you first and then asked you. At Draper they treated you like a human being. They called you "Mister." But at first I thought they had something up their sleeve. Once Mr. Graham asked me: "Mister Nolan, will you go and get me a first year algebra book?" I thought he was putting me on, so I got somebody else to do it. Finally one day I went to Mr. Graham and asked him "Are you for real?"

I applied for the barbering course. I put the hat on them and convinced them I wanted to be a barber. I got the GED, a barber diploma and three certificates of achievement.

It feels good now to get up and be able to walk around the block, to go swimming, to go on a picnic.

I never knew a daddy. I never went to the Warden--I was afraid of talking to "the man." I owe most to Mr. Graham, Mr. Morrison, and Miss Adams (three members of the Draper MDT staff)--they opened up my eyes about life and people. Now I want to be a journalist. I don't have the money right now, but I want to go to college.

Question: Why aren't you a barber now?

Nolan: I went to barbering down at the Air Force Base barber shop and there was this Colonel who came in for a haircut.

I cut his hair, and he said: "Can't you take off a little more here." So I cut some more off. He looked in the mirror and said: "How about taking off some more here." So I went back to the trimming. Then he said: "I'd like some more off here on the side." I took the electric cutter, put on the close-cut guard and ran it over the sides, and--well--have you ever seen a rooster? (Laughter)

The Colonel took a look and called for the Supervisor of the shop and shouted: "Who is this guy?"

"He is one of my barbers" the Supervisor said.

"Blankety-blank-blank" shouted the Colonel, "He is no barber." So I haven't been barbering anymore. (Laughter and applause)

Moderator: Partly because of the hour, but mostly because this is too difficult an act to follow, I am suggesting that we close our "open-ended seminar" on the characteristics of the inmate. I want to wish Gary Nolan well in his ambition to be a journalist, although I think that with two more routines like that, told with the same flair and humorous self-perception, he'll be able to go on the Johnny Carson show, or have a night-club act.

Thank you very much members of the panel, and particularly Ned and Gary. We are adjourned.

DIGEST OF PANEL: EVALUATION OF PROGRAMS

REMARKS

Joseph E. Champagne, Ph.D.
Institute of Human Resources
University of Houston

I want to approach my topic from three dimensions: (1) Why evaluate; (2) Who evaluates; (3) How to evaluate.

Why Evaluate

Today's economy is not static, but rather is catalytically dynamic. What is true or sufficient today may not be true or sufficient tomorrow; in fact the environment itself may have been modified. We live in a genuinely exciting age of technology. It is an age in which every element or resource must have its particular purpose or the system rejects that element. Unfortunately, this is mostly true of the living elements, which cannot be modified or improved unless they allow change within themselves. The offender who has not been a functioning part of our changing economy for twenty years will suddenly be cast into a system which will have no place for such an outdated element and will reject him, and he will be faced with a situation he may be incapable of handling. He has several choices for himself, one of which will result in his return to the correctional institution. Not only is that vital element of our system lost, but it is estimated that it costs about $1.4 million dollars per day to maintain our prison system. We must have effective programs to prepare the offender to reenter society equipped to function and not to enter into such a traumatic situation as to induce further societal alienation. But to have effective programs one must have criteria against which to judge effectiveness, and it is the setting of criteria and the relating of programs to these criteria that we call evaluation. Dr. Saleem Shah who is sitting on this panel today in an article in 1966[1] stated: "Without such evaluation research, crucial feedback about the efficacy of our programs would be lacking and we may continue using methods having little actual value." Thus the magnitude of our rehabilitative effort is enormous and the obligation we have to utilize the best resources to solve the problems most effectively and efficiently is pressing both for our economy and for the offender. Shah went on to say: "The problems of delinquency and crime have assumed such magnitude, and the shortage of skilled manpower has become so acute, that there is urgent need for more innovative and efficient treatment approaches. It is not enough to know that certain methods, in many instances, are of value. More precise knowledge is required to assess the actual cost and overall efficacy of various approaches; to determine the most efficient and desirable combination of types of treatments, types of problems, and the variety of circumstances and settings in which specific treatments are best conducted. In addition, a body of systematic knowledge has to be developed which can be utilized in making our techniques more exact and effective and in the training of a broad range of needed personnel. Obviously, that knowledge and those particular skills should be taught which, on the basis of objective evaluation, are found to be both useful and efficient in modifying deviant behavior." Later in the same article Shah further emphasized: "It is crucial that we subject our treatment and rehabilitation programs to careful and objective evaluation and begin to use a more rigorous approach in such endeavors. The enormity of the task at hand indicates that we can no longer afford the dubious luxury of 'flying by the seat of our pants,' so to speak. Furthermore, there is a compelling need for conscientious re-examination of the relevance and efficacy of some of our traditional roles and concepts, and of the practices that follow from them. Such efforts should enable us to devise more efficient treatment methods and more appropriate strategies for the training and deployment of our manpower resources." I think the why of evaluation is clear and obvious. Evaluation, if we are true to our social commitments, is necessary not only to assist our own program staffs in utilizing the most effective means and techniques in manpower rehabilitation, but also to share our failures and successes with other programs that may need our experiences as they prepare to get off the ground. And finally, and very practically important, is that evaluation results can be used to justify new projects or extensions of current ones. Decisions are often made on the basis of the results of evaluations.

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[1] Treatment of Offenders: Some Behavioral Concepts, Principles and Approaches, Federal Probation, June, 1966.

Who Evaluates?

The next dimension of relevance to be considered here is "who evaluates?" Who actually does the evaluation of the program? This question is best answered when viewed in terms of the purposes of the evaluation. There are several possibilities in respect to who evaluates and we'll consider three at this time. The first is the case for the funding agency itself to assume evaluation responsibility. Such evaluation generally has two purposes: first to determine the relevancy of furthering the project with additional funds and secondly to determine the extent of dissemination of the important aspects of the project. The potential widespread impact of E and D projects must be very critically assessed before any national dissemination is warranted. Such decisions are ultimately made by the funding agency and thus it has to be responsible for determining the value of the project. It should not rest its assessment of the project purely on project reports or documents prepared by the staff of the project. Certainly such reports are necessary for details, but the overall assessment as to the potential success of the project for other areas rests in the hands of the contracting or funding agency. It need not do the evaluation step by step itself, for it may engage appropriate consultants who carry out the process. But the point is that the funding agency takes the initiative and effects the process. Objectivity is more assured in this way.

The second case relating to who does the evaluation is when the project staff contracts directly with independent groups to perform an evaluation. The purpose of such an evaluation is to permit an objective analysis of what is being done or what has been done. Usually this information is for the project staff to assist it in improving what it is doing or to assist the determination of new projects. By utilizing outside groups, the chances for better objectivity are increased. On the other hand there is the danger that the outside evaluators may miss certain points or project subtleties that are significant and thereby prepare an inaccurate, though honest in intent, report. Nothing should be hidden from the view of the outside evaluator if you are sincere in genuinely desiring an honest evaluation.

The third consideration is that of self-evaluation. Self-evaluation should be used purely and simply to help you determine how well you are doing and should rarely be used for outside reasons or purposes. If you intend to publish the results of your evaluation, have someone else do it; don't do it yourself and then pat your own back--it is professionally too suspect, and a good program could be lessened in value by the fact that its evaluation, although it might be accurate, was the product solely of those who did what they also evaluated. There aren't too many people who will publish a report that will tend to derogate their own work. It's pretty hard to be totally objective when we talk about ourselves, let's not kid anybody on that point. But self-evaluation does have a very important place and should be a part of every project, because it is through self-analysis that we gain insights that, though they may be distasteful, are acceptable since they are our own insights, the products of self-investigation. We can view our own strengths and successes or weaknesses and failures. But if self-evaluation is sincere, it must also be honest. It is so easy not to look into areas that we know are not what they should be and just to look at areas about which we know we'll like what we see. If you are going to take the time and expense to carry out some self-evaluation, do a good job-you don't have to show anybody the results. They are yours and your work is too crucial not to be honest with yourselves. Self-evaluation can be critically important to project improvement.

How to Evaluate

The third dimension I want to consider now is how to evaluate. Certainly I will only have time to discuss a few aspects, for we could spend many hours on this point. I will try to touch on highlights that I consider critical to our panel this morning.

First, there are two major types of evaluation. There is the "continuous feedback" model and there is the "after the fact" model. Both are important, both are necessary, and they are two complementary parts of a single overall process. In the continuous feedback model you begin evaluation right when you begin the project. You actually evaluate while you are doing your tasks. The results of the constant evaluation are fed into the project, change is introduced where needed and the new process evaluated, further change, more evaluation, and so on and so on. In this way your project is constantly being improved and you maximize the overall success of the project. You don't wait until you have spent a year utilizing a given method and then look back and see whether you've succeeded or failed, with the possible waste of a lot of time and effort. In this model your project is truly dynamic for you assess the effectiveness of each step and introduce improvement where needed in a continuous cyclical process. The model is nothing new; it is merely the application of continuous information and feedback loops or models to evaluation.

The other more commonly used evaluation model is to evaluate at the end of a project and to determine the overall specific successes and failures. From these data new projects are designed and developed, or projects are extended to new areas and so on. The model simply calls for a review of the process and impact of the particular project. It is far less dynamic than the continuous feedback model and is certainly better than no evaluation at all. The best model in my opinion is a combination of both the continuous and end models. In this way you not only keep improving what you do as you do it, but you also assess the overall impact, efficiency, or value of the project on whatever dimension you choose to determine effectiveness.

My next consideration here relates to the criteria of evaluation. You cannot evaluate in a vacuum; evaluation must be against some standard or standards referred to here as the criteria. At this point I would like to get more specific and direct my remarks to correctional training projects. What is an effective success criterion of an MDT training program for offenders? The ultimate criterion is that the offender is successfully rehabilitated and functions actively in society, achieving greater self actualization and success for the remainder of his life, constantly contributing to society's needs, and making our world a better place to live in. It is completely multidimensional. But how do you measure a many faceted concept? It just isn't practical, so you have to make a decision and look for indices that seem to relate to this global success factor. You have to look for factors called intermediate criteria which seem to predict the ultimate criterion of total success. An intermediate factor might be that the trainee gets a job upon release and seems to hold this job for several months. If this happens to the average trainee, you might feel that you have been successful, but you have predicted ultimate project success using an intermediate success factor. You don't have time even to utilize intermediate criteria in evaluation, especially in continuous feedback models. In these cases you use what are called immediate criteria and these might be whether or not the offender passed or failed a training program or whether or not he mastered a given day's program or other similar notions. But by this time you are really removed from that ultimate criterion we referred to above. The critical question is how well do our immediate and intermediate criteria relate to the ultimate criterion or objective of all MDT correctional training. The point to be made is that in designing evaluation programs, extreme care must be exercised in setting evaluative standards, lest a program which appears to be successful on the immediate level may be ultimately very unsuccessful and even harmful. Evaluation is not quite as simple as it may appear, because your evaluation can never be better than the adequacy of the standards you set for the evaluation. The most sophisticated of experimental techniques fall to ashes if the criteria are not valid.

Let's look at this criterion problem further because it is essential to effective evaluation. So often recidivism is used as a criterion of effectiveness. The lower the recidivism rate the more successful the program and the higher the recidivism rate the less successful the program. If there ever was an erroneous conclusion, that certainly is one. How can you take a single element such as recidivism and determine the success or failure of an MDT program prior to release? I choose recidivism as a concept here because it is so often discussed as "the" criterion of success. Why is it not proper to use recidivism alone as a criterion of success of a training program? The reason is that recidivism is dependent often times on factors which are not related to the training project. Recidivism is a very multi-dimensional concept and not unidimensional. The offender may have been successfully trained and prepared to function adequately in society, but society may not have been ready for him. Society may not have given him the chance necessary for him to find employment, adequate housing, or the like. Society itself may have forced the offender back into prison and all of this is not related to the MDT program which may have been evaluated on the basis of recidivism. Thus you see again that evaluation is not simple. While you may be seeking predictors of ultimate program success, variables not in your control may be affecting the results of your work and efforts. You may feel that your project isn't working, when in reality it may be working as well as possible under the circumstances.

Finally a last concept I wish to discuss on evaluating your programs relates to the concept of co-symptoms. An example of co-symptoms is when a person in a prison enrolls in an optional training program and he finishes successfully and then after release, he becomes employed quickly and with apparent success. The unknowing person might conclude that if it were not for the MDT program in the prison, that particular person would never have been successful on that job. This might be a correct conclusion, but it might be totally wrong. For the same inner dynamic which prompted the inmate to enroll and work hard in the training project may also have prompted him to get a job quickly and be successful at it. In other words the acceptance of and success in training and the obtaining of and success on the job may be co-symptoms of an underlying need for achievement on the part of the offender. In that case to say that success was a function of training and therefore that the training program was a success, is an unwarranted evaluation. The person might have been just as successful without the MDT.

What I'm trying to say is that there are many factors to be considered in evaluating an MDT program--it isn't merely a black-white process.

REMARKS

Dr. Saleem Shah, Consultant
Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency
National Institute of Mental Health

Introduction

Dr. Champagne has already discussed, and very well, many of the subjects I intended to comment on. That makes my task easy. I'll skip those points. I am also told that there are available on the literature table some lectures I have given on the issue of prisoner preparation for release and community follow-up. These discuss in detail various issues pertaining to evaluation.[1] I will not speak here at length on subjects covered elsewhere and available to you.

As our moderator has pointed out, there is no need to argue or spend time in discussing the need for evaluation, whether one approaches it from the simple standpoint of cost-benefit analysis, or total evaluation of program effectiveness. We must evaluate. I will stress this point and some of the elements that must go into it.

Are We Getting Our Money's Worth?

The people who supply the money will eventually ask this. Are we spending money in the best way? Some years ago when I was new in the correctional field, I wondered occasionally about the various projects and programs--correctional and community treatment--and their apparent results. At the time, I thought it was fortunate that correctional systems, service agencies, and such programs supported by government were not subject to the requirements of private industry. If private industry gets a contract to build an airplane, for example, it operates under a requirement to produce in a specified time. The question to them is "Can you do it or can't you?" If a contractor cannot produce, someone else will be given a try on a new proposal. The old contractor will be out. If such a system had been used on our programs, I think that after strict analysis, some of us might not have been in our position! The people following us might not have fared much better, but if more concern for producing results were applied, it would be salutary.

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[1] Shah, S. A. Preparation for Release and Community Follow-up: 1. Conceptualization of some basic issues. 2. Specific approaches and intervention strategies. Lectures given at CASE Training Institute, National Training School for Boys, Washington, D. C., January 19, 1967.

This may be an upsetting thought to us but we are coming to that now and perhaps the whole emphasis on evaluation, at least in federal programs, centers on a demand for carefully evaluated results. The trend is that we will not be about to get the money, retain staff, or get an increase in our budgets, if we cannot demonstrate that we are making good use of the money that has already been allocated. The time is going--if indeed it is not already gone--when good intentions and high-sounding phrases on budget reports and requests will be enough to convince the legislators or others to give increases in funds to develop programs that have not demonstrated their usefulness.

The Recidivism Criterion Is Essential, But Not Adequate

The criterion of the rate of reduction in recidivism is an essential one, but standing alone is not adequate. It poses a black and white issue: "Did a man get into trouble after release, or didn't he?" If he got into trouble, then one may wish to conclude that what you did for him was not effective. If he stayed free, you may want to presume your program was effective. Both conclusions are very much open to question.

Many issues are involved in measuring recidivism. The subject needs much more analysis. Without being exhaustive at all, I'll suggest some:

1. Does one measure in terms of the criminal charge--arrest, conviction, or parole revocation--that brought a man back on a new offense? There can be parole revocation without a new or adjudicated offense. A behavior that would be acceptable for one of us can get a parolee into trouble. We must know what behavior brought a man back. And up until such a time, we must have an evaluation of the parolee's adjustment in various areas by the parole agent. Did some fortuitous circumstance or particular crisis with which he could not cope suddenly knock the props out from under the individual? The problem is by no means as simple as saying "Yes, he came back." The parolee may have done very well up until that time. One must know if this is so, in order to plan a program to intervene at the critical incidents in an individual's life that can "throw" him. In many instances, in people with whom I have worked, a single type of crisis in the family or on the job, or some combination of several things, can occur suddenly and shatter a man's adjustment entirely.

2. How much time has elasped between release and the new offense? How many months or years has it been since the individual was released from the program or the institution, and is this longer or shorter than his history of previous returns? The previous history may show that often re-arrest or conviction occurred within a matter of a couple of months. If this individual then stays out for a year or more, one may believe that there has been an increase in the ability to function for a longer period of time, even though the individual has come back to prison.

3. What is the seriousness of the new offense? Is the new offense of the same order of seriousness as the individual's original one, or worse? The new offense may not be characteristic of the individual or may not be as serious. Seriousness of the offense can be measured by the terms of the sentence given, although this is not really a reliable index and more useful indices can be devised. My point simply is that this is another of the many elements that complicate the simple question of whether or not an individual was returned.

4. What has been the individual's community adjustment? Here again one has a dozen or more other criteria. What has been the prisoner's adjustment on the job? How has he functioned in his family situation? In the area of interpersonal social relations, how well does he get along with other people? Has this improved to any marked extent? Maybe an individual cannot improve in certain areas, but he has improved in others. How do these relate to his rehabilitation and training program?

5. What has been his educational adjustment? This may apply principally to a juvenile going back to school. What is his adjustment now compared with what it was before? In this area and others one might use a whole range of psychological attitudinal measures from clinical interviews to psychological tests to measure self-esteem, psychological well-being, and ability to tolerate and withstand minor stress without collapsing as the individual once did.

Conceptual Limitations of the Term "Treatment"

There is an unfortunate tendency to use the term "treatment" very broadly in the corrections field, to include much more than what treatment means in mental health and programs of psychotherapy or counseling. Correctional programs do speak of rehabilitation, basic and remedial education, vocational training, etc. But too frequently they speak of "treatment" and subsume these other terms under it.

In part, perhaps this reflects an effort by correctional groups to grasp a mental health model. Mental health has been doing treatment, and mental health operates institutions called mental hospitals which are similar to correctional institutions. Indeed, unless one reads the sign in front of the buildings, one often cannot tell the two buildings apart! Also, correctional personnel appear to have borrowed the notion of crime as a sickness or a mental disease, or something else which can be "cured."

This leads to a conceptualization of deviant behavior as a function of some illness, like typhoid or cholera, so that if you could isolate that and give treatment you would have it licked. Such a concept has led to considerable trouble in this culture and elsewhere. In a medical-type model, the micro-organism responsible for the disease is pretty much eliminated in the institution. One still needs good public health services outside to prevent a recurrence, but essentially, the disease is "cured" by meeting certain criteria.

The correctional problem typically is far removed from the medical disease and treatment model. One absolutely cannot measure when criminal or deviant behavior has been cured within an institution. This point cannot be over-emphasized. To think that the treatment is something which gets completed, or is largely accomplished within the institution, is a basic misconception which leads to many other problems.

Behavior as the Result of Total Interaction with Environment

We can construct actuarial tables that indicate a given individual's probability of recidivation. That is, an individual from a group of a particular age, race, amount of education, type of offense, first conviction, etc., may have a 65 per cent probability of getting into trouble again. But this table does not make a prediction only about the individual. It predicts behavior, and this behavior does not occur in a vacuum. The individual's behavior takes place in an environmental setting. The prediction from the table actually refers to an interaction between the individual with a certain potential, capacity, impulsiveness or degree of control, and some particular environment. It is the total context which makes certain behavior possible. One cannot understand the behavior by looking at the individual alone.

Actuarial or base expectancy tables assume a kind of community situation which will be as provocative for certain behavior in the future as it has been in the past. To the extent that one can change the environment, one changes the expectancy at the same time. Therefore, to conceptualize behavior, not as something stemming from the individual entirely, but as something which reflects his interaction with an environment, one sees that it is necessary to do a great deal with the environment.

Let us suppose for instance a John Jones who has been a car thief, had three convictions, comes from an urban setting, a poor family situtation, grew up in a slum neighborhood, and had strong ties to a peer group--many of whom were also delinquent or criminal. John is paroled. He had excellent treatment in the institution but is then released to go home and stay with his family. It is the same environment, fouled up as it always was: mother perhaps has a new husband or boyfriend, John's other pals are still there--some of them out of other institutions, the availability of liquor and drugs is very prominent, etc. It is overall a destructive setting. Would you say that the likelihood of his getting into trouble is the same as before?

Would the base expectancy of success be the same, however, if John were sent to live with his grandmother who might live in a semi-rural area where John has none of his old friends, where there is not much liquor, drugs are not available, and there are not too many people to hang around with on weekends and to get drunk and go car stealing? A change of environment may appreciably change the incidence or the likelihood of a certain deviant behavior occuring because the new environment does not give opportunity for it, or elicit or provoke it.

Graduated Release, Follow-up and Monitoring Necessary

Community programs can change markedly the base expectancy elements by working on the environmental component of the interaction. Institutional programs which ignore the element of graduated release, the process of release follow-up, monitoring, etc., are almost asking to fail in a sense. The best of institutional programs often cannot withstand--at least past results have not been promising--a return to a community situation which is disrupting and which arouses, promotes, and reinforces deviant patterns of behavior.

Recidivism does not necessarily reflect a poor program in the prison. It may well be a sorry reflection on the absence of any program of graduated release, of close monitoring and supervision after release, or the absence of follow-up and various facilities in the community area, of job placement or family or mental health services, and other supportive activities.

We must know what we mean when we say an individual is ready for release. Ready for release to what kind of a situation? Ready for release via a halfway house, or a pre-release guidance center, or to some kind of work-camp setting? Is the individual ready for release to an intensive parole supervision caseload where the parole supervisor has ten people and can follow them up on an almost daily basis? Or is the parolee ready for release to the family situation where the usual parole caseload is 100 individuals for one officer? In many of our programs we do not have all of these choices, nor the opportunity of providing a sheltered working condition, nor a sheltered situation relative to the control of alcohol, drugs, and other offense-inducing temptations.

It is illuminating to talk to some prisoners and ask "Do you think you are ready for release?"

"Yes sir", they may reply.

"How about this drinking problem you had?" you inquire.

"I don't have it any more," the answer comes back.

"How long have you kicked it?" you press the issue.

"Well sir, I'll tell you, I have had that licked for three years now! Yes sir, for three years."

Investigation discloses that he has spent something like three and one half years in prison. Therefore, the first six months he was probably drinking "shoots" or some other brew. So he stopped drinking "shoots" in prison. After three years in the institution he feels he has licked the alcohol problem. To what extent is this any indication of his ability to tolerate the presence of alcohol when he gets out?

It has been suggested seriously that it might be desirable if the gulf between the institution and the community could be broken by bringing larger chunks of the community within the institution. Perhaps some alcohol should be available in some part of the institution, or maybe this would be provided in a halfway house. The half-way house situation, of course, is one in which you begin to lose controls and it is typically a big jump. It is not a half a jump. It is a three-quarter or four fifths jump from the totally controlled institution to the open community. Therefore, it is very difficult to see whether or not a fellow can exercise self-discipline or goes right back to excessive drinking. At present we have no way of testing this unless an individual is an orderly in the hospital unit where he may have acess to pure alcohol or other such sources.

Problems Must be Specified

We must understand which of a variety of different factors determine and cause the pattern of deviant behavior displayed by particular individuals. We tend to lump people together in our practical programs, even though otherwise in talking and thinking about them we realize that there are marked differences among offenders.

You may ask whether an individual's deviant behavior is largely a function of behavioral deficits such as lack of certain skills--educational, vocational, social, speech, etc. If so, we would need to provide programs which attempt to provide basic education in addition to vocational training.

There are many persons who may be trained in various vocational areas such as pressers and spotters, barbers, auto mechanics, etc. However, one problem in such strictly trade training programs may be that they do not consider various other important and even critical areas of deficits. The declaration may be made, and to be blunt about it, may often be made simple-mindedly: "You have got the skill now.

Go out and get a job." But the inmate may have never worked in his life. He does not know what it is to use an alarm clock to get up at a certain time, to allow for an hour of travel time for the two bus changes required to get to work, etc. There are then situations when after placement on the job, the employer may call up and ask: "It is eleven o'clock and John has not showed up." A call to John gets a sleepy voice perhaps on the twelth ring. John has never learned good work habits or elements of being a little conscientious. He doesn't know that one does not shoot craps at work. He doesn't know that one should not be insulted if the boss says: "Come on now John--get the lead out. Start doing some work--you're getting paid you know." To have learned the skills for a particular trade does not give good work habits and related personal and social skills essential to adequate work adjustment, nor compensate for a family history replete with serious deprivations in many areas.

Let us suppose, on the other hand, that the deviant behavior is a function not so much of deficits in particular skills, but of certain distortions in personality. The man may be a high school or even a college graduate. He may have excellent verbal skills--good enough in fact to have conned people out of many thousands of dollars. These are also skills in a real sense, but ones you and I do not have! So what is to be done with this fellow? Give him a trade?

Clearly one has to provide training which is specific to those variables which account for a man's maladjustment. In other words, there must be different kinds of treatment for different individuals. This is something which for the most part is not being done at the present time.

The California Community Treatment Project

There is a project which is doing some remarkable work in this direction in California. It was referred to in President Johnson's Crime Message to the Congress. This is Dr. Rita Warren's Community Treatment Project which is using a treatment-oriented typology. This project has developed a typology of offenders. That is, they have classified different kinds of offenders in terms of what types of individuals have what particular kinds of problems relating to their criminal behavior, and these differences are related to different but specific kinds of treatment approaches applied by different kinds of personnel. They have asked what kinds of counselors can work with different kinds of people, and what kinds of release plans must be developed for these different categories or types of people. What different kinds of supervision must be provided? What is coming out of this is a systematic prescription for treatment programs, both within the institution and on the outside, for different individuals.

Much more of this needs to be done. For one can improve a person's skills, measure the amount of grade level improvement in education and judge the amount of understanding or insight gained as a result of psychotherapy or group therapy, or even informal counseling with his correctional officer. And still when he gets out, there is no way of telling how much use he will make of what he has gained.

Previously, we may have had a fellow who was illiterate, unskilled, and a very impulsive kind of alcoholic, wife-beater, or exhibitionist. Now he has been educated and trained. He has passed his high-school equivalency exam and more than that has a skill--he is now, let us say, a licensed barber. Also, as a result of therapy, he talks with a lot of insight about his behavior. But perhaps all he may have when he gets out is a high school graduate barber who beats his wife with more insight! It may be an improvement to drink, beat one's wife, or be an exhibitionist with insight rather than without it, but I doubt if we will convince anyone if the critical criterion behavior is itself unchanged.

What Are The Terminal Goals?

I have mentioned a number of the issues which must be considered in proper evaluation: treatment typology, base expectancy, characteristics of the individual, an understanding of the family, neighborhood and community to which the individual is returning. The issue boils down to a determination of the treatment goals and the terminal behavior one wishes to bring about. These must be defined explicitly and specific plans then made for their achievement. One must ask continually what treatment methods and techniques are to be used; what kinds of control must be exerted on the individual after his release; and what kinds of controls over the individual will bolster his own controls.

For some correctional systems or institutions, the general objectives may be defined in terms of running nice, clean, secure institutions. For example, the institution may have $5 per day per man. Is this being well used from an accounting basis? Is the place reasonably clean? Have there been any escapes? Evaluation, in places which do not emphasize rehabilitation or have any program facilities, may be simple in terms of these things.

A Pay-Off in California

Getting back to Dr. Warren's Community Treatment Project in California, community agents had caseloads of eight to ten individuals. These individuals were kept in the community in lieu of confinement by the youth authority. Persons adjudicated for commitment were first screened to remove those for whom institutionalization was deemed to be mandatory. The remaining group assignments were divided between the institution and the community project--where intensive supervision and counseling were provided. In a follow-up study after about five years, the experimental group--the individuals kept in the community for intensive services--had a parole revocation rate of about 28 per cent, while the comparable control group sent up to institutions had a recidivism rate of about 52 per cent. The implications seem clear: that for the large majority of such juveniles, protection of the community and effective treatment do not necessarily require locking them up. If the concern is protection, it does not necessarily mean locking behind massive walls and structures. Protection in many instances could be obtained through close and intensive community supervision and treatment.

I have been told that California has saved, as a result of that program, something like $20,000,000, this being the difference between the cost of incarceration and the cost of intensive community supervision. They have, of course, a much more expensive community supervision cost than the usual cost of parole and probation, but it is still $20,000,000 cheaper than institutionalization. And they seem to have had just as much control and just as much protection--but much more effective rehabilitation--to provide the community.

Perhaps I have raised more questions than given answers. If so, it is well. For no one can begin to get the right answers until he asks the right questions, and we have much of the latter yet to do.

REMARKS

Dr. John M. McKee. Director
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Dr. Shah underscored the point that whenever the public gives increased support to an activity, it believes--indeed it insists--that this increased investment must stand the test of cost-benefit analysis. In corrections, people want to know what is working and how effective the rehabilitation program is for the offender. In a narrower, if not more technical sense, people want a cost-benefit analysis made for the dollar spent to rehabilitate the offender.

What Should Be Evaluated in the Institution

In answering the question what will one evaluate in an MDT project, one will above all evaluate whether or not he has achieved his objectives. It is comparatively simple to measure certain of the basic objectives of an MDT project--those of recruitment, training, and placement. Other objectives, however, are far more difficult--those of selection of the most appropriate occupation for the individual, vocationally effective counseling, attitude change, effective follow-up programs.

My recommendation is that you concentrate on what you can really measure: grade gain in basic education and success in teaching the vocational skill. (Incidentally, there is not any significant degree of failure on the latter criterion for most trainees). Pre and post measures can also be taken on personal appearance and on the choice of a vocation. Here, it may be necessary to track the choice process. Whether or not a vocational choice is realistic often depends on the availability of choices for vocational training. Whether or not an individual sticks with the trade in which he was trained is dependent on a number of factors, such as the validity for him of his choice, or the failure of the vocational training program to provide an area in which he was really interested in being trained.

One can also measure the development of communication skills in the trainee if this has been made one of the objectives.

Evaluation After Release

Once an inmate has been released to free society there should be follow-up studies of such relevant items as how long he stayed on the related job for which he was trained. This specific item needs clarification, however. Sometimes a training related job is not open when he is ready for placement. In other words, he was released before the job development officer could place him in the particular trade for which he was trained, but another job was available--obtained either by the job development officer or by the trainee himself.

One can measure whether the man has good work habits and whether or not he gets pay increases.

Dr. Shah has elaborated on the great need to consider the community environment in which the inmate is being placed. I heartily concur with his observations, and would add that one might evaluate what one does to prepare a family for an inmate's release, and evaluate the degree of cooperation between correctional authorities, parole supervisors, and the employment service in developing a proper placement. As for the institution, one can make an evaluation of the efforts made to provide a differential prescription tailored to meet the needs of each individual. Evaluation, I am saying, is a continuous process that begins in the institutional program and follows the inmate after he is released to the community.

The Recidivism Issue

We always end up with the question of whether or not the inmate has recidivated after he has been in an education and training program. As both Joe Champagne and Saleem Shah have pointed out, this is not a black and white issue. Speaking in strictly cost-benefit terms, the most relevant questions may be: How long did the inmate stay out before he recidivated? Was this longer than his actuarial table would have indicated had he not had training? How much income did he earn before he recidivated? Was his recidivism in the nature of a new offense or a technical violation?

A word should be said about these references to actuarial or base expectancy tables used to evaluate the success or failure of a particular group. They are of some predictive value as are life-insurance tables which come close to telling us how many people aged 65 are likely to die in a given year. There needs to be a considerably greater development of such tables in the area of prisoner classification.

It is not good enough to have a man serve as his own control. This experimental procedure provides inadequate predictive value because, as Dan Glaser and others have pointed out, the more times a man is incarcerated, the less likely he is to recidivate. But even this depends on the group. There are certain individuals who recidivate characteristically and others who seldom or never recidivate.

We have, therefore, one of two ways to go. We can strive for a sufficiently large sample as a control, so that individual differences will be nullified. Or we can use a smaller, selective sample, matching pairs on the type of offense, age of the offender and other criteria.

If we use a control group, it must not be in any way exposed to vocational education or any of the training elements that a prisoner would ordinarilly get in a modern correctional institution. There are, however, a very large number of prisons that offer absolutely nothing for the offender. The road camps in Alabama and some other state prisons may be used as model controls.

In short, many critical questions must be answered before an MDT program can be evaluated from a cost-benefit point of view. And then, as Saleem Shah has stated it, it is what happens after release that is most critical in determining the beneficial effect of the training. If the ex-prisoner does not get supportive services in the community, the chances are that his training will not be utilized, or that he will recidivate earlier. Thus, consideration should be given to continuing the rehabilitation or vocational training process after release. The released offender is in the same situation as the released mental hospital patient. The curative process must continue for a long, long time with a longrange follow-up program.

My final thought is the question of who evaluates and when. My answer is short: One must run a continuous evaluation while operating a program. It is a constant dynamic process, drawing experience from operations, evaluating results, and giving feedback to the operation so that it can consolidate and strengthen its working features, eliminate ineffective ones, or even change program direction. Of course, objectivity is needed, and it's hard not to pat yourself on the back by selecting data that make you look good. However, as the program personnel get training in research procedures and are encouraged to be critical and objective, the tendency for biasing evaluation studies becomes less a problem. All MDT correctional programs, all correctional rehabilitation programs should themselves insist upon the development of rigorous evaluative criteria. We may be surprised how much better off we can become, how much easier it can be to justify a job which is being well done or to eliminate archaic and irrelevant practices.

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REMARKS

Charles James
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Thank you, Joe. I won't take much of your time. Most of the things which I had in mind have already been said, but I will, with your indulgence, talk a little about some of the problems with which I am familiar in the correctional field, particularly in federal corrections. I think the greatest difficulty is carrying the message to the public about the project which we have seen at Draper this week. I, for one, feel that the future, indeed the hope of corrections, lies with this type project being properly told to the general public and to the spread of this type of project into the correctional systems--both state and federal. Then at long last we may break down lines of traditional thinking and start convincing some hard-headed correctional administrators. This is certainly a start here at Draper. I am sure there are other things going on in the country. It seems to me when it comes to program or project evaluation that while this must be done--we are talking about proof of the pudding--we are talking about a particular person, Joe Inmate. We are talking about giving him a salable skill which he can take back to the community and with which he can earn a living. Or we may be talking about the corrected offender assuming that part of the tools in the treatment kit will be a trained educated man or woman who when restored to society can become a productive law-abiding citizen.

We establish our goals and move from there, but evaluation, no matter how good, will not accomplish what it must accomplish unless the message is carried to the public. If I have learned anything in my short time in prison service, it has been that correctional administrators as a group are about as hard-headed a group of people as I've ever seen, and it takes sometimes undue pressure to convince them. Projects of this type, proof of the pudding, properly wrapped up and carried to the public will get the job done.

I have appreciated the opportunity to come here and see this. I believe the hope of corrections is wrapped up in the success of projects such as the one at Draper. While there are many things probably that we might have suggested for improvement in the programs that we saw, the greatest thing that impressed me about them was the idea that they are moving--they are beginning to get this message out. I suspect that Draper has done a finer job of this than most.

I think it is a most encouraging sign for corrections and I would hope that all of us attending this conference would take this one message back home with us. There is something moving in corrections and let's be a part of it. Let's get in it and move with the stream. Get the message out to the public and ultimately change some of the traditional hard-headed thinking.

DIGEST OF WORKSHOPS ON COUNSELING PROBLEMS

The discussion in all workshops touched on various issues as follows:

Sources of Recruitment For Counselors

Generous discussion centered on the use of volunteers to aid in counseling services. The Lorton project does this particularly with its VISTAS who are also able to reach inmates after 5 o'clock when the inmates are left pretty much to their own devices. Ad hoc counseling takes place at night when sessions are also conducted by these volunteers in driver training, music appreciation, and drama. Special tutoring is also given at this time.

Lorton has also used individuals who have served time in the correctional institution. Such individuals can "tell it like it is." This fact of "having lived through it" is important in communication. Lorton admitted dangers in this approach although they have been successful. It was indicated that such use has to be closely supervised and scrutinized.

Draper uses inmates also in supportive services in their "Inmate Service Corps." Draper corroborated the notion that this can be a bad thing, but if handled properly can be effective. Inmates learn more from one another sometimes than from a teacher or counselor. Draper keeps this use under close supervision of the professional staff. It gives inmates so used a definite place in the program as aides, but does not recommend them to be used as instructors or teachers. A program in Georgia however, is using older inmates as teachers, but it has not been evaluated yet.

Much discussion of the use of inmates as aides centered on the degree to which they could be trusted. Some trust was held to be essential--a granting of a responsibility of the sort they will have to have in free society. This must be mixed with an awareness of the degree to which opportunity is given to steal tests and answers, or otherwise manipulate the program to its detriment.

The Employment Service representatives suggested that they had no single source from which to recruit counselors, but that many were being recruited from recent graduates from college. Selection was primarily a matter of checking academic background and training. Some institutional people present believed that educational background should not be the sole criterion. The implication here was that training was not complete or adequate until it was in-service training with the population to be served.

In-service training was a constant, almost daily enterprise at Draper for its College Corpsmen. Time is provided each day for each corpsman to discuss any problems he had that day with inmates. Supervision is close and constant. The corpsmen usually serve for one semester or quarter only--occasionally for two.

Recruitment of counseling personnel needs exploration. Most Draper counselors have had experience in the public school system. One Draper counselor has been with the Veterans Administration. The prison environment is an entirely new world for the inexperienced counselor. It was suggested that some type of training program, such as NDEA, for counselors going into prison work be set up. People ideal for this would be people with social work background.

Should Staff Members Other Than Trained Counselors Do Counseling?

It seemed to be general experience that anyone on the staff could be involved in a counseling situation whether he sought it or not. Draper meets the problem by having regular in-service training sessions for the entire staff, and then permitting staff members to handle what they can and refer what they cannot to the counseling staff.

The clinical psychologist at Draper conducts sessions with the staff. These concern understanding the approaches of the inmate, how to handle them, ways in which inmate behavior may be modified, how not to get too involved, when to recognize signs that require referral, and other relevant problems. The Warden, the project director (also a clinical psychologist) and the professional counseling staff also participate in these regular sessions.

In this connection the question arose whether only counselors could help inmates with letters pertaining to their problems. Draper reported that any member of the staff may help. The Warden encourages this in order to develop a wider number of authority figures for the inmates. Staff is trusted to decide itself whether to clear a problem area with the Warden, or to mail a letter without any censorship. In fact, censorship as such has stopped at Draper and all prison personnel are encouraged to help with mail.

This raised the issue of the development of the line staff. Warden Watkins reported on a study he had made of 150 prisoners leaving the Federal prison at El Reno. To the question "Who helped you most here?" the majority named a cell helper--even though a variety of professional services were offered in the prison. Warden Watkins advocated, and other correctional persons supported, the idea of seeking funds for training programs of regular prison custodial staff. It was pointed out that regular MDTA could be used for this purpose.

Does the Convict Culture Limit the Effectiveness of Individual and Group Interaction?

The point was made that this varies from institution to institution. The lines of communication to the convict sub-culture are very important and problems should be worked out according to the differing ways different institutions operate. One of the most helpful things to do is to move away from being pinned to the sub-culture by operating from a reference of understanding of the broad basic background from which these people come.

Most inmates have no significant relationship with family or anyone, lack a sense of values, have poor verbal ability, have no real objectives in life, have had little in the way of employment, do not trust people, believe that society is not honest with them, want "success" immediately, believe they will be exploited by employers, are not interested in continuing school or education, and have failed or they would not be in their present position of confinement.

A dominant characteristic is that they resent authority. Those present who had to deal with women prisoners said this was equally true of them as of the men. This resentment of authority tends to breed resentment against formalized complicated types of counseling. This leads some counselors to develop informal contacts for counseling. They stop to talk with the inmate in the shops, or halls, and attempt to gain confidence through informal contact.

To a question of whether or not there was any difference between the urban and the rural offender, it was noted that the best "con" artists come from the urban areas. Cliques within the prison tend to be formed from the larger cities or metropolitan areas. Occasionally a rural offender will be admitted to the clique, but not often. Rural offenders do not seem to attempt to "con" the staff as much.

Warden Watkins warned against permitting the inmate to get one into a position of thinking that any individual is the only authority figure in the prison. The prisoner will play such a person for that. If the prisoner gets into trouble, let him try to get out of it himself. He will have more respect for one. The effective counselor has to do something constructive about a prisoner's life. He must play a part in that life. But he should not try to be the only authority figure the prisoner has.

Also applying to informality, it was suggested that one should not be so informal that he loses effect. Study the situation carefully, be willing to talk freely--this is the point.

On the question of whether there was any difference between Negroes and Caucasians requiring different kinds of persons to deal with them it seemed to be a consensus that a good counselor could work with both equally well.

DIGEST OF WORKSHOPS ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROBLEMS

A variety of issues were explored in the three workshops on problems in education and training. The major points of significance are summarized under general headings as follows:

Problems of Recruitment

It was apparent that varying conditions in different institutions posed different problems in recruitment for education and training classes. In all situations however, it was necessary to go out and reach persons who would not otherwise be reached. Bulletin board and other public announcements were used, but nothing surpassed an individual approach by counselors, staff members, inmates in the program, or custodial personnel who supported the program and would advise inmates of their opportunity.

Lorton has a special problem because of indeterminate sentences. This may mean that an individual may not be released after he completes training. This fact however is candidly explained and inmates choose training with full knowledge of it.

South Carolina found that some inmates were unwilling to give up the $30 per month jobs they had in prison industries in order to take a training program. This was overcome by offering a $10 per month allowance to those taking training. A similar problem, apart from the pay element, was met at Draper. Inmates feared giving up a good position in the prison to take orientation, if they might be rejected then by the program.

In the Federal prison system, some men know about the limited placement and follow-up services provided and are fearful or dispirited about signing up for training.

Other problems met had to do with the demands for prison maintenance which prevent some who are otherwise eligible from being free to apply. When South Carolina started its training program, it found prisoners suspicious. It overcame this by holding an open house in the training facilities, permitting prisoners to see and handle equipment and verify for themselves that the program was genuine and meant business.

A good recruiting device is to play up the status of the program. Lorton provides attractive badges for each trainee and the device has worked.

Problems of Selection

When implementing vocational programs within institutions it is necessary to take into consideration the length of the sentence. An inmate should be selected for training and matched with a course that he can complete on time. Instances are recorded, however, of men being willing to extend their time in prison in order to complete a course.

It is most necessary to determine the status of the trainee in his educational capability. He should not be selected for training in something he cannot cope with, or in which he cannot be brought up to a minimal acceptable level by remedial education.

Each individual should be treated as such, and in terms of what he can handle. Various diagnostic and vocational interest tests can be used. Lorton places emphasis on SAT scores. One workshop, however, had a resounding consensus that early test scores were no indication of how well an individual would do in training.

Draper permits a little period of exploration in the various shops of the different training courses offered. This causes some change of initial choices. Lorton found that those with reading levels from the 3rd to the 6th grade tended to eliminate themselves from training in areas like clerical courses, sales, and barbering.

One has to try his best to make a good match of an inmate with the program of his choice. The range of choices might not be as broad as some would like and one must be aware of another problem that may occur later at the time of employment. Some rural area prisoners must return to their rural area in order to get a home program to meet the requirements of the Parole Board. Such an area may not permit the inmate to go into a training-related job. It may take three to six months to get him worked over to a training-related position.

It appears to be necessary in selecting men for training and matching them to proper courses, to study all of the angles possible in a given individual's position, make careful diagnostic tests, and have expert counseling in order to hope for the best compromises that can be made.

Motivation To Continue In Training

Problems of initial motivation are encountered in the recruitment and selection process, but a man may select a course and after three months find he is no longer interested in it. He then appeals to the counselor to be dropped from the course. Draper suggested that trainees should be urged and helped to continue in what they started because 100 percent of those who have graduated have been placed. On the other hand, if genuine interest in a change of field can be demonstrated, efforts to make changes can be made. Draper is sometimes able to drop the individual back into pre-vocational training and start him over.

Relative to motivation it was observed that it may be depressing to take an inmate with a trade of some sort and automatically put him into a prison maintenance program, instead of a new training program. In the former, the prisoner does not think he is getting anywhere, whereas if he is put into a special program he tends to feel that one is doing something in a special way to help him.

Both Draper and Lorton emphasized that there is a lot more to the education and training program than what is given directly in skill or vocational training. One must be sure to give things in other areas, both for motivation in the program and for the individual's benefit when he gets out, where it is what happens in the after working hours which give him the most trouble.

Draper has also made an increasing development of "Contingency Management" as a device to increase motivation in the learning process. The essence of this is a continuous series of contractual arrangements--formally developed--with a trainee to complete so much work. Satisfactory completion of contracts brings rewards which the trainee may choose from a list of such bonuses.

Relationship to Prison Administration and Maintenance

Participants suggested that cooperation with prison administration was essential to have a good education and training program, but that nevertheless the training program should have a separate identity. The superintendant or warden of the institution is a controlling force. One should "run with" or cooperate with custodial officials for the purpose of getting their support and help in the rehabilitation program, and to get their understanding of the fact that the training program should not be tampered with arbitrarily.

Emphasis came in again at this point on programs to upgrade the salaries, status, and training of custodial staff.

Some problems with prison administration were noted in the tendency to put men on maintenance or pull them out for it. This or long-term training programs geared to prison maintenance were held to be of little value to the trainee.

One has to work closely with prison officials and parole officials to get the best planned program for an individual, to get a feedback of results from the training program to parole people, to gear training to time of parole, and to solve problems of handling short term prisoners. In institutions dealing mainly with the short-term prisoner, the problem is one of managing the time for training.

DIGEST OF WORKSHOPS ON JOB DEVELOPMENT AND PLACEMENT

Three simultaneous workshops on job development and placement discussed issues of responsibility for it, cooperation with prison and parole officials and community agencies, public relations and employer development, and others. The following summarizes the significant points brought out from all of the groups.

Who Has the Responsibility for Job Development and Placement?

Many groups or institutions may be drawn upon for carrying out these functions. The parole and probation officer may be very helpful, various social agencies in the communities can give support, and the employment service in each community has a mandate to assist all unemployed in getting a job. There is no law giving parole and probation officers any legal responsibility in this, but oftentime such officers know of job openings and pass the information along.

At Lorton, Virginia, it was noted that the job development and employment counseling unit had been incorporated in the budget of the Parole Board. While many agreed that job development for ex-prisoners is a highly specialized function that should begin in the institution while the prisoner is still in training, there was significant dissent from the notion that it should become the prime responsibility of the correctional institution or the parole board. In the first place not all prisoners are released on parole. Many go out on termination of sentence. Secondly, it costs a lot of money to develop job placement activities. Money is short for the range of things the institution must do, and it would duplicate functions and personnel that already exist in other agencies. These should be used first and their capabilities perhaps should be expanded.

Presumably the Employment Security Commission in each state should be the primary agency to develop jobs and place people. It might well add specialists to its staff to aid it in this function, and arrange for their part or full-time function within the institution. The Employment Security Commission might also well be the nexus agency to develop a network of social agencies that can be of help and support in this activity. The vocational rehabilitation field staff can be an important part of this network. It was pointed out from Draper that it had difficulties in coordination until a full-time vocational rehabilitation counselor was placed in the prison to help in prerelease planning and coordination of referrals to field counselors.

Should the Employment Service Officer Be Stationed At the Institution?

It seemed to be agreed that to the maximum extent feasible the job developer from the Employment Service should have an office at the prison and work out of it as much as possible. This raises the problem of availability of staff and staff training for this area.

Draper has a staff of three job developers in its project. These travel over the state and work closely with the employment service throughout the state of Alabama. Meanwhile the State Employment Service has a full-time placement officer assigned to work with the prison and all of the local offices working with Draper graduates.

The Employment Service has the problem of the availability of personnel. At least periodic visits to the institution are desirable. It was speculated that Human Resources Development personnel assigned to the Employment Service might assist in this area, and that special projects to be funded might provide for a full-time employment counselor working out of the institution.

Many of the problems develop out of the necessity to make state-wide placements, instead of just in a local labor market area, as is the case with regular MDT. In a state-wide operation, the parole officer is overloaded, and the Employment Service is not ready to work with prisoners in some states.

South Carolina reported that interviewers from the Employment Service interviewed all prisoners in their MDT project, and Alabama reported that Employment Security was sending some of its interviewers to graduate school at agency expense to upgrade their capabilities in this as well as other areas.

Employment Service Cooperation With Other Groups

It was agreed that Employment Service personnel engaged in placement of prisoners should be thoroughly acquainted with local parole officers in order to coordinate release dates with the date of availability for employment. They likewise should have a thorough knowledge of parole laws in the state in which they operate.

Prior to this, the Employment Service officer should have access to the classification records, the training and performance records, information from the counseling staff, and whatever else is pertinent in order to have a complete picture of the individual he will be selling to the employer. He should come to know his man personally. The job development and placement officers at Draper have a photograph made of the trainee before his release, and in civilian clothes. This is part of a file jacket on the man which contains other pertinent information about him. These are carried throughout the state for examination by prospective employers. Where possible the job development officer arranges for a prospective employer to visit a man at the prison.

The Employment Service must also maintain liaison with many groups outside the prison. Various social agencies can give a social service support for which the Employment Service has little, if any, capability. Alcoholics Anonymous and service clubs may be important to an individual. The Employment Service may or may not be involved in arranging for some of these other community relationships, but it should be knowledgeable about them and understand the importance of the network of supportive relationships that play into keeping an ex-inmate on his job. Job development and job placement are only the beginning of the problem with this kind of unprepared person.

Developing Public Relations In the Community

There must be a program of public relations to develop community acceptance for the return of these individuals from prison to it. The community, employers and others, must be willing to take chances. Where state laws permit it a work-release program seems to be a good way to acclimate the community. While the prisoner is on work-release the community knows where he is at all times. Meanwhile the community is getting an education on the possibilities of employing ex-convicts, an opportunity to know how they work, and how well, and what kind of people they are.

Draper has begun the systematic development of a Community Sponsorship program. A church, civic club, service organization, or other, may become a community sponsor. Such an organization, in conjunction with the parole officer and the MDT project staff will select someone to be an individual sponsor in the community. That person will visit the prisoner before his release, become acquainted, and get some relationship going. After release he will be a support in friendship, recreation and other social aids. A buddy may be developed for a man on his job.

Halfway or transitional houses function in time to acclimate the communities, although their initial establishment may require a good bit of selling.

Most persons believed that communities were amenable to cultivation and responded well when a proper approach to them was made, and when they were given an understanding of the total objectives of rehabilitation and the potentials for it.

Cultivation of Employers

Mention has been made of the necessity to cultivate employers in job development and placement. This must be done with candor and full information to the employer about the person he is expected to hire. But employer cultivation can mean much more than that. Employers should not be asked to lower their qualifications for a job--if they are reasonable ones. Instead the institution might alter its training courses in order to graduate qualified people. Both via advisory committees and individually, or through trade associations, employers might well be invited to visit the institution, inspect its training facilities, give advice, and otherwise become involved. Both Lorton and Draper have done a considerable amount of this to their profit. The Washington Restaurant Association has held a meeting at Lorton with a meal served by the training class in cooking. A company has donated modern welding equipment to the welding class and takes an active part in absorbing graduates from the class. Indeed as some of these employer groups become involved, they are in turn an invaluable source of other community support and understanding.

If a completely adequate training cannot be provided in the institution, employer groups can help provide supportive services such as helping the individual enroll in a vocational course outside, to upgrade further his abilities.

The maximum amount of openness of the program to the community and to employers, with a solicitation of help and advice, is highly important.

APPENDIX

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF AN INTENSIVE READING PROGRAM ON A GROUP OF ADULTS AT LOWER ACADEMIC GRADE ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

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Introduction

In recent years the area of reading and related skills has received increasing attention, especially with regard to adult literacy education. For decades reading has been the mainstay of the elementary school curriculum, only to be discarded at the junior high level. More recently, however, evidence seems to show for older youth and young adults that reading ability is a necessary if not sufficient condition for continued development in other areas of basic education. While most subject-matter areas are isolated and rather factual in content, reading skills seem to generalize and give aid to the student wherever verbal negotiations are called for.

Purpose

The purpose of the following study is to determine the effects of a reading program on overall grade-level gains and individual subtest gains of young adult students in the Vocational E & D Project (Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Alabama). It should be understood that an experimental design has been imposed on existing data, i.e., variables were administered without benefit of a pre-determined design. However, the treatment conditions and nature of the data involved ensure the reliability of this type of retrospective study.

Method

Subjects--All Ss were students in the Vocational E & D Project and all were enrolled in six-month training courses. Each S had a total score of 8.5 grades or below on the Metropolitan Achievement Test (M.A.T.).

Procedure--The two treatment groups can be described as follows:

GROUP A: 26 subjects in the fourth training class of the E & D Project. These Ss received 40 hours (4 hours/week for 10 weeks) of training in a reading program using materials and equipment (a PerceptoScope) from Perceptual Development Laboratories (P.D.L.). Ss also received an average of 160 hours of remedial instruction using programmed instructional materials.

GROUP B: Thirty-three subjects in the second training class of the E & D Project. These Ss had no special instruction in the area of reading. They received an average of 160 hours of remedial instruction using programmed instructional materials.

Each S was given the M.A.T. at the beginning and end of the course. All treatment variables were administered between the dates of the pre- and post-test.

Comparisons were made between the grade gains of the two groups in areas tested by the M.A.T. These areas include: Total Score, Reading, Word Knowledge, Spelling, Language, Arithmetic Computation, and Arithmetic Reasoning.

Interpretation of group differences was done by inspection or by use of Student's t-test as appropriate.

Other relevant group characteristics are described.

Results

Group A made significantly greater gains than Group B in total average, reading, and language. Grade gains in the areas of spelling, word knowledge, math computation, and math reasoning did not differ significantly for the two groups.

Table 1 (Page 161) shows the direction and magnitude of the group differences.

A further break-down of the Group A data was made in order to compare the Math Computation and Math Reasoning gains of those who took the advanced form of the M.A.T. post-test and those who took the intermediate form (Table 2, page 161).

Seven Ss took the advanced form, averaging 2.30 and 1.66 grade gains on the Computation and Reasoning section, respectively. The remaining 19 Ss of Group A averaged 1.15 and 1.02 grade level gains on Computation and Reasoning.

Table 1

Mean Grade Gains of Groups A and B on Subtests
of the
Metropolitan Achievement Test

Subtest	Mean Grade Gains Group A	 Group B	Interpretation
Reading	2.39	.27	Significant by inspection beyond .01 level
Language	1.27	.78	Significant by inspection beyond .01 level
Word Knowledge	.63	.67	Not significant
Spelling	.94	.91	Not significant
Math Computation	1.46	1.63	Not significant
Math Reasoning	1.19	1.31	Not significant
Total Grade	1.37	1.05	$t=1.797$ - significant beyond .05 level

Table 2

Math Computation and Math Reasoning Gains of Ss in Group A Who Took the Intermediate Battery of the M.A.T. and Those Who Took the Advanced Battery

Subtest	Mean Grade Gains Intermediate Test (N=19)	 Advanced Test (N=7)
Math Computation	$\bar{X} = 1.15$	$\bar{X} = 2.30$
Math Reasoning	$\bar{X} = 1.02$	$\bar{X} = 1.66$

These data are shown only to indicate possible transfer effects of reading to math areas. No test of significance was applied.

Discussion

The average grade gain made in reading by Group A was approximately nine times greater than the gains made by Group B. This difference establishes that the reading program did, in fact, greatly enhance the reading abilities of Group A. The M.A.T. reading subtest primarily evaluates comprehension with some consideration of speed; these are the skills most emphasized in P.D.L.'s reading program. These results simply confirm the program's validity.

Not so easily established, however, is the transfer of learning properties of these newly acquired reading skills. That the total grade gains for the two groups differed significantly is a fact that must be cautiously interpreted. Since the total score on the M.A.T. is an average of all subtest scores, the reading gains of Group A are alone sufficient to account for the superiority of Group A's total score. The comparison of the other subtest scores is more relevant to the question of reading skills generalization.

Language gains were found to differ significantly, with Group A showing the greater increases. This difference can probably be attributed to the fact that the P.D.L. reading program gave some secondary attention to sentence and paragraph structure as part of its training in reading comprehension. Also, this subtest is more highly verbal than the spelling or math subtests for example.

The lack of significant differences between A and B on the word knowledge and spelling tests was not predicted but is understandable. The P.D.L. program gives no attention to vocabulary or spelling skills. Also, these subtests are factual in content and give little opportunity for reading skills to become manifest. There are reading programs available which do provide training in these subjects, particularly in the area of word knowledge or vocabulary.

No significant differences were found between the two groups in the math computation and math reasoning grade gains. One factor that probably contributed to this lack of difference can be discovered by examining the nature of these subtests. At the intermediate level grades (7-9) these tests rely very little on verbal abilities. However, it was found that the seven Ss in Group A who took the advanced level of the M.A.T. showed grade gains in math computation and math reasoning that were highly superior to those of the remaining 19 Ss. Inspection shows that the advanced math subtests are more verbal than the intermediate tests. Thus, it would seem that the value of reading abilities increases as the math subtests become more wordy.

One possible reason that differences of the Spelling, Word Knowledge, and Math subtests gains for the two groups were not greater is that post-tests were administered immediately after the reading program was completed. Thus, the reading skills helped only in the actual taking of post-tests. Perhaps if both groups had been allowed another period of study, the newly acquired reading skills of Group A would have generalized more across other subject-matter areas. This hypothesis could be readily tested.

Conclusion

The reading program of Perceptual Development Laboratories has been shown to be highly effective in the teaching of reading skills, particularly reading comprehension. This program also significantly enhances language skills.

The data also seem to indicate that reading abilities may have a generalizing effect to such areas as math, when tests are of a more verbal nature (word problems, etc.). An interesting speculation is the degree to which reading skills influence non-reading achievements, especially non-language performance such as math computation skills.

Need for further exploration is indicated. One possibility would be to administer the intensified reading program to an experimental group before the actual remedial or basic education classes begin. If we propose that reading skills make possible the learning of increasingly complex subject matter, then the experimental group should surpass the control group in all subject-matter areas.

WHY CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT?[1]

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Introduction

The year 1776 not only saw the American colonies revolt, -- it was also the year of the revolution in Economics. This came about largely as a result of what is generally conceded to be the first economics textbook, written by Adam Smith and entitled The Wealth of Nations. Much of his work concentrated on human resources and their development and utilization as the key to the wealth of any nation. While most economists coming after Smith generally agreed with most of his analysis, they unfortunately allowed the human element to slide into the background. Instead, it was assumed generally that all workers were interchangeable, that skill was not a question, and that whenever jobs appeared, so would the workers. Mobility was not a problem, for workers were assumed to be rational, economic men who would travel great distances to take a job that paid a few cents more than their current one. Labor, like land and capital, was treated as inanimate, to be increased or decreased at will without any dire effects on the economy. This kind of abstract reasoning prevailed until the Great Depression of the 1930's shook the very foundations of economic thinking, particularly in regard to the importance of the human element and the role of government in the solution of basic economic problems.

In that vast realm of economic and social problems, there are always some thinkers and some doers. The thinkers often become doers when the necessary wherewithal is available. Most of the time the real impetus is provided by Congress in reaction to a national problem and accompanied by a great deal of advice from both thinkers and doers. Thus, in the 1930's, we developed a truly significant Federal-State relationship in the form of the United States Employment Service. Added emphasis was placed on vocational training, and even some thinking and action developed in regard to the needs of rehabilitation. But World War II showed us even more. While all of the major corporations of the land kept running inventories of their physical resources and could itemize them to the last nut and bolt, not one of them had a real inventory of their human resources. None of them could really give a complete inventory of the total experience, education, and training of its workforce, and how this related to production needs. Only a massive crash program designed to develop the required human resources enabled us to survive this crisis.

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[1] Not part of proceedings of Montgomery Conference, but included here because of relevance.

Lessons From Recent History

The lessons of the 30's and World War II should have convinced us of the necessity for a continuous program devoted to the development, conservation, and effective utilization of human resources. However, as late as 15 years after World War II, most employers had little more knowledge about their human resources than they had at the end of the War. The Employment Service, while having made some innovations in service, was still largely a labor exchange matching employer requests for workers with worker applications for jobs. Much vocational training was not really meeting the existing needs and vocational rehabilitation was still considered to be some kind of special program not fully related to overall human resource development. At the university level from which scholarly direction supposedly emanates, most did not have a policy and program planning device to insure dynamic and changing relatedness to the problems of a rapidly changing society. Even as late as last year, Dr. G. Lester Anderson, Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo, at a conference on manpower for correctional rehabilitation sponsored by the Southern Regional Education Board, noted that universities are among the most stable of institutions and more resistive to change than most. Further, they have been committed historically to things which are timeless rather than ephemeral, to principles rather than expediencies, to the verifiable and theoretical rather than the *ad hoc* or practical. Perhaps, it is not overdrawn to suggest that universities generally had been more concerned with the sex habits of plant and animal life than with the wide range of human problems and their effect on the American economy. The dichotomy between town and gown was still mostly intact, and it was not surprising that economists were largely content to create academic prose, mostly for each other, which theorized whether the cause of unemployment was due to ineffective demand or structural problems in the economy. The need to solve the problem somehow got lost in the debate.

Despite the lack of dynamic action, there were some thinkers in all of the institutions discussed above. Their thinking was motivated by and attuned to a number of postwar manpower problems existing in the economy. What were some of these problems?

Postwar Problems

1. The rising level of unemployment: From the end of World War II through 1961, there were four recessions in our economy. Naturally,

unemployment increased substantially during each one and dropped when the recession terminated. However, as an unhappy phenomenon after each recession, unemployment leveled off at a higher level than before. This caused the unemployment level to rise during prosperous times from 2 percent in 1946 to 5.5 percent in 1962, and from 1958 through 1964 it was always more than 5 percent.

2. The impact of technological change: By the 1950's, many industries were moving from that stage of technology generally described as mass production where men run machines, to one known as automation where machines run machines. In many industries a fully automated production process could utilize only one man with an automated machine to do the work of 100 previously needed to turn out the same amount of goods. Computers with lightning-like rapidity were developed and quickly became obsolete. The number of calculations and decisions which could be made by them multiplied. Several years ago a mathematician tried to put it in lay language. He explained that if you attempted to walk around the world on the equator, and took your normal step every time the latest computer made another calculation, it would take you less than a minute to walk around the world.

Put in more general terms, in 1961, manufacturing industries turned out 13 percent more product than in 1955, but it was done with 19 percent fewer production workers. During the same period, the civilian labor force increased 9 percent, employment only 6 percent, while unemployment increased 66 percent. Thus, the most conservative estimates of the day indicated that each year the American economy could turn out the same amount of goods and services as it did the previous year, but with two to three million fewer workers. It is not surprising that areas largely dependent on certain industries like coal, railroads, textiles, and steel were becoming economically depressed.

3. Changes in the structure and composition of the labor force: These changes, while largely related to technology, had vast implications for our economy. For example, in the early 1960's, the number of workers in agriculture and mining was continuing a rapid and steady decline, while construction, manufacturing, transportation, and public utilities were at best holding steady. The big increases were in trade, services, finance, and government. More importantly, there had been a continual increase in the number of white collar workers, so that by 1954, there were more white collar than blue collar workers, and the gap favoring white collar has continued to widen. Specifically, the fastest growing categories were professional and technical with occupations in the clerical field such as secretarial keeping pace. In the blue collar area in the 1950's, only the craftsmen category kept pace with the growth of the labor force. Semi-skilled workers increased slightly in numbers but dropped as a percent of the workforce and common laborers dropped both in numbers and percent of the workforce.

Closely related to the above is the historical fact that we have had many more workers producing goods than services. However, the gap narrowed considerably during World War II, and by 1952 there were approximately 29 million of each. Since that time the gap continues to widen in favor of service workers.

4. The problem of youth: By 1960, we knew that the bumper crop of babies born during World War II was going to come of work age during the 1960's. Two million became 18 during 1960, and this was to continue to increase until it reached 4 million by 1970. At the same time, the aforementioned changes in the industrial and occupational compositions required much more education than had been true in the past. Often young people with a high school degree were not really qualified for the majority of jobs which were developing. Even so, as late as 1963 more than 6.7 million youth in the 16 to 21 age bracket were out of school, and more than two-thirds of them had less than a tenth grade education. Given this picture, it was axiomatic that youth would be unemployed to a far greater extent than the rest of the work force.

5. The special problem of non-white: While Negro youth, for example, suffered from the same fate as youth in general, the many facets of discrimination and other environmental differences have resulted in a worse situation for the Negro. Consequently, even for youth, the difference in unemployment rates for Negro and white was noticeable in 1960 and has increased continually since. Given the fact that twice as many Negroes in percentage terms had less than an eighth grade education in the early 1960's and that their jobs were largely concentrated in the blue collar occupations, it is not at all surprising that the rate of unemployment for Negroes was well established at twice the national average in the early 1960's. In fact, this pressure for higher skill and educational levels was doubtless the prime factor in startling changes in labor force participation in the South during the 1950's. This change saw the white female increase her participation by 22 percent while the Negro male was declining in participation by more than 10 percent.

Given the problems just discussed which were in clear focus by 1960, it was time for some of the thinkers to raise their voices. One of several voices was that of Theodore Schultz, who, in his presidential address to the American Economics Association in December of 1960, said:

> The failure to treat human resources explicitly as a form of capital, as a produced means of production, as the product of investment, has fostered the retention of the classical notion of labor as a capacity to do manual work requiring little knowledge and skill, a capacity with which according to this notion, laborers are endowed about equally. This notion of labor was wrong in the classical period and it is patently wrong now.

Other voices were raised in many disciplines and institutions in what appeared to be a return to the truism of Adam Smith, in that a nation is underdeveloped because her people are underdeveloped and that ultimately the wealth of the nation stems from the power to develop and utilize the capacities of all its people. In effect, what was being said was that a massive program of human resource development was needed, or if you please--manpower training. In 1961, Congress responded to some of the voices (actually it preceded most) by passing the first of many pieces of legislation which together form a revolutionary program dedicated to maximum human resource development. Let us review quickly some of the manpower-related legislation.

Manpower-Related Legislation

1. The Area Redevelopment Act: This was the beginning in 1961. It was largely concerned with helping depressed areas to redevelop through grants and loans for the development of industry and public facilities. It is significant for manpower training in that it granted training allowances to unemployed persons who were enrolled in vocational training classes up to a maximum of 16 weeks. It was soon evident that this concept had to relate to the needs of the unemployed in all areas of the country. Thus, while only a few more than 35,000 individuals received training in fiscal years 1963-65, the idea was reproduced on a larger scale in another piece of legislation.

2. The Manpower Development and Training Act: This Act picked up where ARA left off and has expanded the ideas considerably since, including the possibility of training up to two years. From passage of the Act in 1962, through December 1966, approximately 600,000 were enrolled for manpower training. Of this number, more than 337,000 had completed and approximately 100,000 were still in training. Roughly 80 percent of the graduates were employed at the last point of contact with them.

3. Vocational Education Act - 1963: While the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts providing for vocational education had been in effect for many years, this Act was a massive addition to vocational education possibilities. For example, in fiscal year 1965, of $180.7 million for vocational education, $123.5 million was under this Act, and in FY 1966, out of a total of $284.7 million, $227.5 million was under this Act. The Act made it possible to de-emphasize agricultural and home economic vocational training and provide more of the skills which are needed for the jobs developing in the non-agricultural sector. A whole range of programs designed to meet the special vocational needs of youth who have completed or dropped out of high school are available.

4. The Economic Opportunity Act - 1964: Popularly referred to as the Poverty Program Legislation, this Act is not primarily a manpower training act. However, either directly or indirectly, a large portion of its budget aids individuals in poverty to get jobs. For example, more than 1/2 billion dollars was expended for this purpose in FY 1965, and more than 3/4 billion dollars in FY 1966. This was for such programs as the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the work-study program, adult basic education, work-experience, and manpower training by community action agencies.

5. Elementary and Secondary Education Act - 1965: The possibility of tackling the youth manpower problem in high school and before exists with this Act. Title I alone contained more than one billion dollars for strengthening educational programs for the disadvantaged.

The above is at best a cursory glance at the manpower revolution made possible by federal legislation. All told, 35 different laws authorize federally-assisted manpower development programs for job-oriented education and training, and 27 federal laws contain provisions for direct financial assistance to persons enrolled in such programs. In FY 1966, for example, this amounted to more than two billion dollars and gave manpower assistance to more than seven million persons. How has this governmental contribution affected the manpower problem and the thinking of the nation regarding it?

The Impact of the Revolution

There have been many effects of this legislation as our whole economy has become more manpower conscious. The thinkers in a wide variety of situations are now doers too. For example, the local employment security office is no longer a simple labor exchange; it is, or should be, a complete manpower center. A wide range of new services, programs and responsibilities have accrued to the office. It has also taken a hard look at how it catalogues the human resources in its area through its human resource development program at one end of the spectrum and how jobs are developed at the other end. Other agencies work cooperatively with Employment Security under MDTA and other programs. These include Vocational Education, which has a major role in developing curriculum under MDTA, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. In addition to taking a new approach to old problems, these agencies (and others) concern themselves with the special problems of youth, older persons, minority groups, rural residents, the physically disabled and the disadvantaged generally. They (and others) are cooperating in a wide range of programs such as the attempt to coordinate all agencies related to the manpower problem under the auspices of the

Coordinated Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS), the concentrated employment program (CEP) in 22 cities, and recently approved poverty area centers in 14 cities. Truly, it is impossible to recognize these agencies as those which existed but a few short years ago.

Even the universities (or at least some of them) are caught up in the revolution. In the paper of Dr. Anderson, previously quoted, he did point out that the history of higher education in the United States is one of increasing responsiveness to social demand, and that universities do create new programs and even create new institutions to meet new social purposes. It is my impression that, despite the growing pains of a massive onslaught of students and a massive building program for physical facilities, the University of Houston is one of those universities aware of the times. It is moving to meet the challenge. The development of human resource programs by the College of Business is an outstanding example of this spirit.

Employers too, have shown an increasing concern and awareness of the human resource problems which hinder the growth of our economy. Many are concerned with their human inventory and have appointed directors of manpower planning. Some formed the Plans for Progress organization, which concerns itself with minority group employment problems and attempts to equalize opportunity in hiring practices. Special programs with Negro colleges have been developed including one by a Houston employer group concerned with orientation of teachers and counselors regarding the opportunities in their companies. More specifically, employers have shown a civic concern over the dire social consequences of thousands of unemployed youth in many of our cities. For example, last week the Chamber of Commerce in Houston joined with the Mayor's office and several social organizations in a job fair. The purpose was to provide jobs to unemployed youth for the last six weeks of the Summer. After only one hour on the first day the doors of the Coliseum had to be closed, for more than 4,000 had shown up for 1,000 jobs to be offered.

In general then, there is a ground swell of opinion that the proper development and utilization of our human resources is a major concern of society. Most who normally would be critics of government spending see the logic of manpower training at government expense. For example, depending upon the type of training received, it would take only from one to three years to recover the cost of the training in new taxes paid by the trainee. This does not include the reduction in welfare or unemployment costs which would go on indefinitely without training. Thus, given the state of public opinion and the reduction of unemployment to 4 percent, it might appear that the manpower problem is solved. The fact is we are far from it.

The Problem Lingers On

Despite the manpower expenditures of the past few years, an extremely small percent of the unemployed have received training. At the same time, the technological trends continue to place a higher and higher premium on education and training. Thus, the employment problem of youth continues to loom large on the horizon. For example, in 1965, 550,000 teenagers entered the labor force. This was three times the average increase of the preceding four years. In addition, 400,000 in the 20-24 age group were unemployed. But three quarters of the teenage increase was in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs while the majority of the 20-24 age group was in semi-skilled. The complexity of the problem is evident when one realizes that between 1965 and 1975 there will be a decline of 200,000 in total number of jobs as laborers and the increase in semi-skilled will be the smallest of any occupation. Thus, one does not have to stretch the imagination to realize that, if it were not for the drafting of youth by the military and the creation of jobs through such programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the problem of youth unemployment would be far greater than it is.

There are many other special groups, particularly the non-white, who have special problems directly related to lack of education and training. Thus, the obvious question is what happens to those with special problems who are not fortunate enough to enter a manpower program. A number of them are very well known to many of you, for they are part of the case load in the correctional field.

Offenders and Unemployed: A Common Denominator

Based upon the statistics contained in a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, entitled The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, the similarities between unemployed youth and offenders are quite clear. For example, offenders are mostly male and the majority are young, being in the 16 to 30 year age group. More than 82 percent of them have not finished high school. Almost 69 percent have been in occupations requiring little or no skill, with approximately 1/3 of them classified as common labor. This is more than four times the average for the workforce.

Comparing the non-white with the white as we did in regard to unemployment, studies have indicated that when they have similar living conditions, there is little difference in their crime rates. However, even when living in the same general area, the Negro is likely to have poorer housing, lower income and fewer job opportunities. Thus, it is not surprising that Negroes have a significantly higher rate of arrest in almost every offense category. According to the Uniform Crime Reports Index in 1965, for all crimes in the Index plus larceny under $50, the rate per 100,000 Negroes was four times the rate for whites.

Returning to youth as a group, there is cause for sober reflection when one considers the fact that three quarters of the Crime Index arrests in 1965 was made up of people under the age of 25. The 18-24 group had the highest rate for violence, for with only 10 percent of the population, they had 26.4 percent of the wilful homicides, 44.6 percent of rape cases, 39.5 percent of robberies, and 26.5 percent of assaults. The 17-19 age group is only 5.4 percent of the population, but it had 12.8 percent of the arrests. Thus, given this background and the fact that 23 percent of the population is now under the age of 11, it is not too surprising that some studies have suggested that more than 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a non-traffic offense sometime during their lives.

The Cost of Crime

If an economic case can be made for manpower training for those who are only unemployed, then an even stronger case can be made for manpower training for offenders. When one considers that Corrections handles an average of 1.3 million offenders on any given day, and approximately 2.5 million during the course of a year, the loss by the failure to utilize fully all human resources alone is staggering. Add to this the cost of more than $3,600 per year for juveniles in institutions and almost $2,000 per year for adults, not to mention the added welfare costs for many of their families, and a humanitarian approach is no longer a luxury. For good measure, consider that the annual cost of public law enforcement is more than four billion dollars. Private costs related to crime are almost two billion, crimes against property cause losses of almost four billion, and crimes against persons cost more than 800 million dollars. One can only wonder why manpower development was not a must in corrections long ago.

The Philosophy of Corrections

Perhaps from the time of Plato there has been disagreement over the proper approach to corrections, some leaning entirely on what can be accomplished through legislation and policing while the other extreme has had almost a complete mistrust of law as a means of social control. It is not surprising then that those who violated the morals of the community were thought to be possessed by demons and were for the most part executed, flogged or pilloried for their crimes. By the end of the 18th century, however, the thinkers in corrections pointed out that offenders were not possessed by demons, but instead were persons who for a variety of reasons chose to violate the law. Thus began the system of imprisonment which might purify the offender, give him time to reflect, or at least prevent a recurrence of his crime while in prison. True, there were farms, workshops, mines and factories related to the prisons. However, these were established primarily to recover some of the cost of maintaining the prisoner rather than to prepare him to face better the world of work when he returned.

Thinkers and Corrections

Fortunately, there have always been some thinkers in corrections. I am sure that the systems of probation and parole, both of which started about 100 years ago, resulted from an attempt by thinkers to improve the system and correct the evil. Many in corrections began some time ago to see the offender not as a morally deficient person, but as a patient. So attempts at individual treatment were made.

This kind of progressive thinking was given added impetus when studies indicated that an offender had about one chance in twenty to be prepared better when he returned to society but a two-to-one chance that he would be less prepared than before. As was true in regard to manpower training, the possibility of achieving real solutions came in the form of new legislation and governmental programs. Such acts as the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965, the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965 and amendments to MDTA are examples. Many employers have begun to work with correctional programs and are showing increased signs of willingness to hire from the offender population. Some universities have become leaders in corrections, such as Sam Houston State College in Huntsville, Texas, through the establishment of its Institute of Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioral Sciences. Others such as the University of Houston, are attempting to relate their manpower and human resource programs to critical manpower problem areas such as corrections. The Rehabilitation Services Administration has supported 38 research and demonstration projects which have the public offender as the focus of service and/or investigation. Others are becoming similarly involved.

Thus, it is probably safe to agree with the conclusion of Richard Grant, Executive Secretary, National Advisory Council on Correctional Manpower and Training, that what is happening in the field of corrections today is ferment stemming from the national concern over crime and delinquency. Further, he feels that the public attitude toward the offender is becoming aligned with the more progressive concepts of some correctional leaders, and the most favored correctional model is a rehabilitative one. The objectives of a correctional system are seen now in terms of changing the attitudes, motivation, self-concept and values of the offender so that he may adjust responsibly to a rapidly-changing community.

Almost two hundred years after Adam Smith we are coming to the realization that all our resources must be developed fully and utilized efficiently if our nation is to remain great. We must include offenders as a major human resource to be developed and make it a natural extension of the manpower training revolution. It is time for a new effort, for as Francis Bacon once said:

> ....there is no comparison between that which we may lose by not trying and by not succeeding; since by not trying we throw away the chance of an immense good; by not succeeding we only incur the loss of a little human labour. But as it is, it appears to me from what has been said, and from what has been left unsaid, that there is hope enough and to spare, not only to make a bold man try, but also to make a sober-minded and wise man believe.

NEW RESOURCES FOR CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMMING

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"In several senses corrections today may stand at the threshold of a new era, promising the resolution of a significant number of the problems that have vexed it throughout its development. At the very least, it is developing the theory and the practical groundwork for a new approach to rehabilitation of the most important group of offendees--those predominantly young and lower class who are not committed to crime as a way of life and do not pose serious dangers to the community."[1]

The foregoing quotation from the report of the Task Force on Corrections of the President's Crime Commission suggests a frame for our discussion at this meeting. That the Task Force was able to take so optimistic a view of the future of corrections is in no small measure a reflection of the pervasive climate of change which has had its impact upon all of our social institutions.

One may be confident that a generation or two hence, thoughtful social analysts will sieze the opportunity to examine the phenomenon of change in the 1960's with insights and perspectives which are denied us who are caught up in its currents. But there is no doubt in my mind that one of the most significant benchmarks will be the work of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health whose work began in 1955 and ended five years later:

"The objective of modern treatment of persons with major mental illness" is, the Commission noted, "to enable the patient to maintain himself in the community in a normal manner. To do so, it is necessary (1) to save the patient from the debilitating effects of institutionalization as much as possible, (2) if the patient requires hospitalization, to return him to the home and community life as soon as possible, and (3) thereafter to maintain him in the community as long as possible. Therefore, aftercare and rehabilitation are essential parts of all services to mental patients and the various methods of achieving rehabilitation should be integrated in all forms of services, among them day hospitals, night hospitals, aftercare clinics, public health nursing services, foster family care, rehabilitation centers, work services, and ex-patient groups."[2]

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[1] Task Force Report: Corrections, President's Commission on Law Enforcement, 1957, page 6.

[2] Action for Mental Health, Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, XVII, 1961

If the influence of the work of our colleagues isn't readily apparent, consider these comments of the Corrections Task Force:

"The general underlying premise for the new directions in corrections is that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failures and disorganization of the community as well as of individual offenders. In particular these failures are seen as depriving offenders of contact with the institutions that are basically responsible for assuring the development of law-abiding conduct..."

"The task of corrections therefore includes building or rebuilding solid ties between the offender and the community, integrating or reintegrating the offender into community life - restoring family ties, obtaining employment and education, securing in a larger sense a place for the offender in the routine functioning of society. This requires not only efforts directed toward changing the individual offender, which has been almost the exclusive focus of rehabilitation, but also mobilization and change of the community and its institutions."[3]

Of course, the fact that we find echos and reflections of the work of the Joint Commission on Mental Health in that of the National Crime Commission should not be particularly surprising. In a very real sense both the prison and the mental hospital were products of the spirit of reform which were stimulated by the Enlightenment and "part of the great wave of social and moral reforms stimulated by the human squalor produced by the industrial revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[4]

It is not at all far-fetched to believe that a survey of the literature of that period of reform and revolution would reveal that there were those who saw the creation of these new institutions as a turning point in the direction of more rational approaches. But over time, and almost imperceptibly, what had been innovations were perverted. Indeed both became substitutes for the system of banishment which had been part of the criminal sanctions in earlier societies. Not only was the offender banished from the community, but all too frequently so were the institutions to which he was sent together with his keepers. It is not surprising then that the penal institution became increasingly insulated and isolated, and that it became surrounded by invisible walls of paranoia and suspicion. Those who designed the new systems of rejection, however, overlooked a most important fact. The new system of banishment was not leak-proof. The earlier models and designs had reasonably assured that the offender would be removed for life. The prison, however, usually returned the rejectee to the society but returned him stigmatized and reinforced in his feelings of rejection.

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[3] Task Force Report: Corrections, page 7.
[4] Action for Mental Health, page 61.

"By the beginning of the twentieth century, the profile of the State asylum for the incurably insane was stereotyped both professionally and socially - it was an institution where hopeless cases were put away for the good of society... Mental hospital superintendents who saw patients accumulate and continue to live their lives out in locked wards became steeped in this negative outlook. Far from feeling that they had failed in a medical and social responsibility, these first psychiatrists apparently were satisfied that they were fulfilling the mission the State assigned to them. This was to take custody of all persons committed to their institutions by the Courts and thenceforth guard the patients and the public against the latter's irrational acts, if any."[5]

It was the accumulated evidence of the futility of adding to the ever-expanding capacity to warehouse human despair that stimulated the organization of the Joint Commission which in turn prompted a much greater investment of Federal, State and local resources in finding new solutions to the problems of the mentally ill. Out of this effort has emerged two significant changes: first, there have been very important modifications in public attitudes and a lower level of anxiety about the potential dangerousness of persons who suffer from mental illness. Second, there has been a greatly heightened effort to treat the patient in the community.

As corrections follows the path which has been blazed by mental health, and seeks to find similar kinds of meaningful linkage to the community, it will find that other recent developments in our society can probably be exploited to great advantage. The conscience of a well-fed affluent society is attempting, albeit somewhat clumsily, to come more firmly to grips with the problems of people in need. During the past five years funding has been provided for a broad range of new programs most of which are focused upon the needs of the socially, economically, culturally deprived members of our society. As new and more vigorous efforts have been mounted to provide the dispossessed with hand-holds upon the opportunity structure, there has emerged a new appreciation that the task of corrections -- the reintegration of the offender into the society -- intersects and interfaces with that of other agencies which are involved in the solution of human problems.

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[5] Ibid, page 65.

Our presence at this conference tends to give substantial reality to this development. A major concern of the U. S. Department of Labor is the reduction of hard-core unemployment. We in corrections have been aware for a long time that the ranks of the unemployed have too often been augmented by our clients. Historically, too many parolees or former inmates have returned to the community with no greater educational or work skills than they had before commitment, with hostile attitudes toward authority, and with little motivation for legitimate employment. Even where the institution had been somewhat more successful in returning man and women who were reasonably "ready" to become productive citizens, the stigmata of the "ex-con" created serious obstacles to reentry. The programs which have begun to evolve from the growing appreciation of the fact that the correctional system does not operate in a vacuum has brought into play a range of services and resources which provide a unique opportunity for the correctional manager to reorient his programs.

As the Crime Commission has pointed out, the task of restructuring correctional programs is multifaceted. The emergence of the concept of reintegration of the offender into the community as the central objective of the correctional process does not diminish the importance of some of the tasks which were identified as meaningful in the past. Diagnosis and classification continue to be highly relevant to decision-making at every point in the correctional process. Our capacity to discriminate more precisely between offenders and groups of offenders becomes critical not only to our efforts to measure the degree or extent of threat which the offender poses for the public, but in defining the kinds of services which he most needs. The work which has been done by Marguerite Warren and others in the development of diagnostic typologies may well provide a new base for the development of specialized programs and must be regarded as one of the new resources at our disposal.

The increasing recognition that one of the most compelling functions of the modern correctional institution is to prepare the offender for return to the community has particularly important implications for institutions for youth and young adults. One of the most essential aspects of this preparation involves the active collaboration both in broad program planning and in planning for individuals in the correctional institution, with employers, trade unions, the educational system, and such specialized agencies as are responsible for vocational counseling and rehabilitation as well as employment placement. The experience of the California Department of Corrections with the development of Trade Advisory Councils suggest one model which may be useful in other States. A number of States and Federal institutions have recently acquired vocational rehabilitation services through the collaboration of State agencies while State employment services have in many instances greatly expanded occupational testing and employment development services. In still other instances State Departments of Education have, with funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity, supported literacy training for substantial numbers of offenders.

Private business and industry as well as labor organizations have begun to show a new willingness to contribute directly to the training needs of offenders. Several instances can be cited in which industry or labor has made available training resources to provide inmates with new skills to meet needs in labor shortage areas. This development suggests that this is a resource area which needs to be more fully exploited.

Still another illustration grows out of recent collaboration between the DuPont Company and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The company has been widely cited for pioneering in the application of programed instruction techniques to train its employees in basic industrial skills to meet the requirements of change in the industrial process. The usefulness of the DuPont material has now been tested in a pilot program established at the Federal Reformatory at Petersburg, Virginia. The materials used were in the areas of machine shop, welding, woodworking, and auto mechanics training. The results are described in summary in "A Case Study on Retraining," published by STEP, an activity of the National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York City.

Some part of the stimulus for the involvement of business, industry, and labor in the training of offenders has its origins in the advent of the newer community-based correctional programs - work release and residential community treatment centers. Both of these correctional tools, while relatively untested, are regarded as presenting great promise. The concept of work-release is not new. As early as 1913, the Wisconsin Legislature enacted a statute which authorized the release of misdemeanants from the jails to work by day and return to the institution at night. When in 1965 the U. S. Congress enacted the Federal Offender's Rehabilitation Act, only three States had similar laws for adult felony offenders. By the close of the legislative sessions of most States in 1967, the number of States with work furlough authority had increased to 21.

The early work-release laws were primarily intended to help the prisoner maintain his job and provide some measure of support for his family. The more recent statutes are intended to facilitate the offender's return and ultimate reintegration into the community. Work-release provides the man the chance to test his work skills and his capacity to meet the requirements of the job and his employer in a situation in which he continues to receive support in facing and meeting crises. The work-release program can provide the institutional manager with substantial information about the weaknesses and the inadequacies of the institutional program as well as furnish him with practical suggestions about ways in which programs can be up-graded. Further participation in work-release can provide valuable information to the parole decision-maker who has the opportunity to evaluate the offender's behavior in a situation which more closely approximates the "real" world.

In the two year period that the Federal statute has been operative, there have been more than 3,000 participants. They earned more than $2,600,000, contributed upwards of $500,000 to dependents, paid $470,000 in taxes, accumulated $900,000 in savings and contributed more than $300,000 to the government for their care. As impressive as these figures may be, there are other returns of equal importance.

1. There has been broadbased community support for and community involvement in the programs,
2. The offender has lived and worked in situations where he has realized a high level of personal acceptance,
3. The availability of the program has stimulated higher levels of motivation and more sustained interest in the correctional programs available within the institution.

The level of support of the community is well exemplified by the comments of Mr. W. P. Gullander, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who has stated:

"Make no mistake about my meaning: control of crime is important. But would it not be more productive to focus a greater part of our thought and energy upon crime prevention? Perhaps we can concentrate more of our efforts on giving people the means to cope with their problems through legitimate channels, rather than leaving them to strike out blindly and destructively - both against themselves and against society."[6]

The National Association of Manufacturers has also developed a case study on the operation of work-release as illustrated by the experience of the community of Danbury, Connecticut, in its collaboration with the Federal Correctional Institution, and has offered its good offices in stimulating the development of similar programs in other parts of the country.

The residential community treatment center has its origins in the same considerations which have prompted the adoption of work-release as a correctional tool. As a pre-release center, it performs many of the functions of work-release, but it has the advantage of being community-based. Its residents have access to the full-range of community services and it becomes the task of the center staff to help the offender develop firm hand-holds upon the services which will be supportive not only during the period of supervision but as he moves beyond supervision to full freedom. The center program can be greatly reinforced if the program manager is provided with a budget which enables him to contract for services which would not otherwise be provided by the community agencies.

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[6] "Employment A Step Toward Crime Prevention" - W. P. Gullander, published by STEP, National Association of Manufacturers.

The early experience with the use of such centers to facilitate the offender's reentry into the community has suggested the possibility of using such facilities as intermediate centers to provide short-term care for persons who might otherwise be committed or returned to more traditional institutions. Legislation now before the Congress, for example, would permit eight existing Federal community treatment centers to offer services both to probationers and to parolees. And, indeed, it is not a long step from such a program design to other community residential models such as envisaged in the Crime Commission's report.

One of the significant roles of the residential center, as the previous comments suggest, is to function as a mediator or broker of community services which bear upon the needs of the offender. And, as the Commission also suggests, the role of "broker" is also implicit in the involvement of probation and parole field agents in the processes of reintegration. "Probation and parole would have wider functions than are now usually emphasized within their case work and guidance orientation."[7]

The trends which have been identified in the foregoing make it abundantly clear that the correctional practitioner can no longer afford to "go it alone." Whatever may have been the considerations which contributed the practitioner's conviction that he must somehow meet the offender's needs through his own services, the spectrum of resources now available makes it essential that he address his intelligence and his energies to the bringing into reality of new collaborative models of correctional practice.

The development of new models will, of course, have important implications for the tasks of correctional workers and perhaps for new approaches to the division of labor. This is a subject which may better be discussed in the light of the anticipated reports of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower Training and Development. Perhaps at this stage, it may be enough to note that there is at least a little evidence that experienced correctional workers have demonstrated the capacity to move from traditional roles in institutions to entering new roles in community-based programs with marked success.

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[7] Task Force Report: Corrections, page 9.

The importance of training for the new jobs is evident however.

As corrections broadens the community base of its programs, there is one potential personnel resource which should not remain untouched. The possibilities of new career programs for offenders have been expanded by the recent removal of many of the contraints which formerly eliminated them from public employment. And it appears obvious that if the former offender is to gain a meaningful place in the practice of corrections the best avenue of access may well be the community programs. For this reason the new careers project which is being designed by the Institute for Criminological Studies of the University of Chicago in collaboration with the staff of the U. S. Probation Office of the Northern District of Illinois should receive special attention. One of the most interesting aspects of this study involves the use of selected ex-offenders as case-aides to the probation staff.

While most of my observations about resources for correctional change have been directed to the needs of the longer-term offender, I have not been unmindful of the jail. Certainly the failure of our society to attack in any significant way the problems of what more than thirty years ago Fishman called the Crucibles of Crime is a national disgrace.

Except for a few isolated instances no sustained effort has been made to transform the jail into an effective community corrections center. The limited experience we have, however, indicates that it is possible to do so. One key lies in the development of meaningful links to community services. The priorities of any community should include the reduction of jail population through bail reform and release on recognizance. The experience in New York City of the Vera Foundation in developing a highly successful release on recognizance program still awaits widespread application. The development of alternatives to the jail for the alcoholic now being tried in St. Louis, Missouri, under Office of Law Enforcement Association (OLEA) resources is promising, and the work underway at San Joaquin County, California, also with OLEA support in developing a coordinated community corrections program in which the jail figures as a correctional treatment center also looks hopeful. But it is clear that far more needs to be done to assist the misdemeanant in solving the problems which led to his commitment and to support his efforts to cope and manage in the community.

In the light of what has been said in the foregoing, it seems clear that corrections at this moment has an unparalleled opportunity to join in collaborative efforts with public and private agencies as well as with business, industry and labor organizations. It is also in the process of shaking off its traditional insulation from the community and testing interventions which are largely dependent upon community support and involvement.

While these activities are in progress, there are a number of concerns to which corrections and its new collaborators must address themselves. The need for sharper diagnostic tools has been mentioned and needs not be belabored. Equally obvious is the need for demonstration and program evaluation. We can no longer afford to fly by the seat of our pants. New programs which are proposed with inadequate provision for evaluation deserve no support. We must also concern ourselves with the best way to apply our respective energies and resources. The tasks of the correctionist and his collaborators require careful delineation and care taken to integrate the work of both. Expensive and wasteful duplication of services and activities should not be tolerated.

For corrections, movements in the direction of identifying its efforts with a network of resources may at times be clumsy. It is not easy to tear down some of the barriers which we ourselves have erected to keep the community out. Nor is it always easy to share our insights and our accumulated experience with others. Problems will also arise when our new associates force us to rethink policies, programs and procedures, to which we have been long inured and take for granted. As new programs arise we will also want to subject them to hard tests to assure their unquestioned applicability to the missions and goals which the society has defined for us.

At all costs, we must maintain a balanced view with respect to the use of new interventions - especially those based in the community. Clearly all offenders do not need them; some for obvious reasons cannot avail themselves of them; others may, in fact, do better without them. There is a danger too that in our enthusiasm and haste to move into new community areas we may, if we are not careful create a dichotomy which is more formidable than that which emerged thirty-five years ago when the behaviorial disciplines found their way into the institution. Then the tension arose between the "treaters" and the "keepers." It has taken a full generation to relax that tension and in some instances all that has been achieved is an armed truce. If now we create a new dichotomy, a new tension between the institutional and the community programs, we will indeed have thrown away the opportunity to strengthen the continuum of treatment which we believe to be essential.

But if we move into the era of change intelligently and deliberately there appears to be more than a reasonable prospect that the expectations of the President's Commission for the creation of a more rational solution of our problems will certainly be achieved.

CORRECTIONS' NEED FOR OTHER AGENCIES[1]

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The Manual on Correctional Standards states that operating a correctional system, or any of its parts, in isolation from community agencies ought to be a thing of the past. However, while probation and parole have a long history of using other community agencies, this practice is not well developed by correction institution managers and jail officials. When we consider that 20% of the male population living in low socioeconomic areas can be involved with corrections (Ball 1965) the necessity for corrections to be full member in the family of agencies becomes obvious. As it is now, the agencies are working to achieve their own specific goals. The goal which should be common to all agencies becomes obscure for lack of liaison and cooperation.

What should the role of all other community agencies be in relation to correctional institutions? The Manual of Correctional Standards indicates that correctional personnel have long recognized the need for agency interaction. It points out that correctional agencies do not function in a vacuum. Whenever they are located in or near a community, they should function as a part of a network of community agencies concerned with such individual and community needs as health, welfare, religion, recreation, education, employment and public safety. Because of their unique sensitivity and knowledge of the conditions and forces within the community which cause crime, and because they receive many persons for detention, or rehabilitation, who require the services of other agencies, the correctional agencies should participate in total community planning to see that the essential services are available. An example of the importance of this can be seen in the case of a client who is incarcerated. His removal into jail immediately and necessarily places responsibilities on other agencies, since the probabilities are that Health and Welfare will become involved in the care of his family.

Many agencies control services which are a primary need in programs attempting to terminate criminal careers. These services have not been forthcoming. As Kahn has pointed out, agency efforts in individual cases are not sufficiently interrelated, with the result that in some instances there are gaps in necessary services

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[1] This paper is part of a forthcoming book authored by Dr. Wallace Mandell and Dr. Clyde Sullivan on problems of prisoner rehabilitation.

and in others there is duplication of services. Important information is not shared in cases where several agencies are dealing with the same individual. Often where more than one agency is involved, each working with a single portion of the family or segment of a particular individual's problem, the client's service needs are lost in the gaps between agencies when services do not mesh. Coordinated planning for the efficient utilization of community resources is needed to effect rehabilitative correction. The agencies which are most closely involved with the welfare of corrections clients are:

A. Social Welfare

   1. Community Welfare Councils - Through these many public and voluntary agencies are coordinated. They can help in locating and initiating contacts with agencies which can provide channels for correction officials to explain needs and help in social planning.

   2. Social Service Exchange - Can expedite information exchange and referral of offenders known to other agencies.

   3. Departments of Public Welfare - Can give information and various financial aids for the offender and his dependents including old age assistance and aid to dependent children.

   4. Family Service Agencies - Can aid to restore and preserve family harmony.

   5. Child Welfare Agencies - Can give casework service in meeting problems of child neglect, emotional disturbances, as well as services to unwed mothers.

B. Health and Medical Care Agencies

   1. Mental Hygiene and Mental Health Clinics - Can provide psychiatric services to adults, through self-contained units or as out-patient services in metropolitan hospitals to benefit the mental health of the inmate and his family.

   2. County and City Health Departments - Can give services via laboratory tests, vaccination and immunization and counseling about maternal and child health, public and personal sanitation, VD, to prevent disease and its spread.

3. Public and Private Hospitals - Can provide specialized health services such as surgery for inmates and their families.

4. County Medical Societies - Can arrange for services to indigents where medical clinics are not available.

C. Employment

1. Local Offices of the Bureau of Employment Security - Can locate employment, provide job counseling, and make referrals for special vocational educational services.

2. Job Corps - Can provide special placements and vocational educational services for youthful offenders.

D. Education

1. Vocational Education - Board of Education - Can provide high school equivalency education and training for some jobs particularly through Manpower Development and Training programs supported by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Although corrections is badly in need of coordination with these agencies, current attempts to give rehabilitative services to correctional inmates are vitiated by the lack of community agency follow-up on their release from jail.

Why Corrections is Set Apart from Other Agencies

Corrections, like other public services, is an agency of the Government. It is in great need of the cooperation of the other public and private agencies. It too is responsible for the well being of society. In many instances it deals with the same population that requires and uses services of other public agencies. Nevertheless, to date it has had little relation to nor has it been accepted as a member of the family of agencies. The programs necessary to enhance correctional programs generally exist in every community. They are, however, under the control of independent agencies. Though these agencies are generally committed at a policy level to helping in correctional problems, because of operational goals, policies and scarcity of resources they do not do so. Many of the reasons for this isolation are grounded in the historic view held by the community of prisons, jails and reformatories. The correctional agency is left in a position where it must negotiate for the provision of services crucial to its rehabilitative goals.

Lack of Agency Cooperation Penalizes the Community

Ultimately, the total community is penalized by the refusal of other agencies to coordinate with corrections. Without being rehabilitated, the inmate released to the community becomes a source of criminal infection or a costly recidivist. Corrections again becomes the recipient of these failures. The non-cooperating agencies do not suffer any immediate consequence of their policy of rejection since the individuals do not appear on their case loads, but the community continutes to pay a heavy penalty. On again committing an illegal act, the released inmate is not returned to the school or the family service agency or whichever agency previously failed. He is again sent to corrections. Again and again corrections becomes the sole agency dealing with these societal rejects even though these failures may require the maximum resources of many agencies for rehabilitation.

Why the Agencies Won't Cooperate

1. Stigma:

   Among the reasons Corrections has been isolated from the family of agencies is because it is socially stigmatized. These views have affected the attitude and willingness of other public and private agencies to cooperate with Corrections. It is true that social stigma is attached to anything connected with prisons, jails and their inmates. Agencies fear that by dealing with prison institutions or its inmate population they too, will be stigmatized. They fear that this stigma may make it difficult for them to perform their primary agency functions and services.

2. Trying Population:

   Corrections deal with an extremely difficult population. Inmates tend to be aggressive, sullen, manipulative, etc. Before an effective program can begin, there are varied cultural and class boundaries which must be crossed by professional staff who find it hard to empathize with criminality. The inmates, especially the younger ones, tend to reject authority and view all those who seem to represent it with suspicion. Since all these factors require large amounts of professional time and skill, there is general unwillingness to deal with these proven difficult correctional cases. They prefer to concentrate on clients who "can be helped."

3. Low Success Rate:

Most agencies are geared toward success, which they define in terms of successful cases. It must be remembered that corrections' inmate population contains the manifest failures of other agencies such as education, welfare, etc., which may have tried to solve the inmates' problems. Moreover, many of the inmates are also failures of the so-called correctional institutions as evidenced by a large percentage of recidivism. With this double brand of failure on them, the jail population is not a readily acceptable clientele.

4. Lack of Funds:

The community has always regarded the role of corrections with ambivalence. Corrections is given complete authority over the physical and indirectly over the psychological being of the individuals entrusted to its care. And, although this is imposed as corrections' function, the community does not wish to pay for the care of those who disregard the laws of society. Consequently, financial and professional support for corrections is indifferently and not readily given. Furthermore, unless the jail is well financed, and permitted to do so, it cannot bring financial support to agencies from whom it requests services. Occasionally correctional institutions have used inmate labor as the basis for exchange of services with other agencies. However, this has been eliminated in most parts of the country because of union restrictions and legal considerations. Thus the jail is left in a very poor bargaining position, since there are no agency compensations for cooperating with corrections.

5. Lack of Facilities:

Operating under legal requirements, the correctional institution has no freedom to decide whom it will or will not accept as a client. The prison is a residential care facility operating under the limitations imposed by law. It does not control its intake. This lack of control over its intake eliminates one of the most valuable resources as a basis for exchange for other agency resources.

Because of legal restrictions, the correctional system may not even have control over the time of release of the individual so that his length of stay can not be made a service available to other agencies.

6. Poor Staff:

Another block to corrections' exchange of resources with other agencies is the disparity in the training and status of correction staff vis-a-vis other agencies' staff. The educational background of correction personnel is generally low. Job requirements are low because it is difficult to recruit good staff. The professional non-custodial correctional personnel therefore would be the key staff involved in interagency efforts. Professional staff is handicapped because all rehabilitative efforts must be kept within the limitations imposed by security and custody priorities usual in jails and prisons. The low priority of professional treatment imposed by the custodial function make it difficult to work by usual professional standards within the institutions. This lowers the prestige of the professional among his colleagues. The enforced limitations imposed by civil service rather than professional standards tend to reduce respect of agencies' staffs for the correctional institution does not attract professionals on a par with those in other community agencies. This difference in quality of correctional personnel reinforces a lack of respect for corrections as an agency by other agencies, which negatively affects cooperative efforts.

7. Difficulties in Communication:

The dearth of professional training and a shared scientifically oriented professional language in corrections leads to difficulty in developing a common language with other agencies. The gap in communications further blocks the development of plans and measures to meet problems which should be common concern in effectively furthering community goals.

8. Self-Sufficient Orientation:

Out of necessity the jails are compelled to be multiple service agencies responsible both for the physical and mental health as well as the behavioral conformity to law of its clients. But custodial roles utilizing physical control and rehabilitation roles are not easily integrated. There is a continuing attempt by correctional agencies to become self-sufficient. They try to treat their population by making and creating professional resources available within their own organizations.

In the hope of improving the efficiency of the system and providing services which could not be obtained through cooperation with other community agencies, educators, psychologists, counselors, social workers and other professionals have been brought into correctional systems. One of the effects of this has been to reduce the pressure on the correctional administrators to negotiate with the other agencies in the community to obtain services for the inmates.

Futhermore, this has reduced the pressure for coordination with outside community agencies.

9. Resentment Against Other Agencies:

Some agencies have widened the gap between themselves and corrections by using the correctional agency as a weapon. For instance, Welfare Service agencies may threaten clients who fail to pay support for children with being jailed. Correctional agencies resent being forced to accept inmates for whom the institutions are not primarily intended. They resent the agencies which coerce inappropriate and overcrowded use of their facilities.

Correction agencies have not the same freedom of decision as to their clients as have other agencies. Corrections has no option as to its population as have most other social agencies. The correctional system is a terminal point to a constellation which includes the Police, the District Attorney and the Judiciary. Each of these in turn makes the determination as to whether an accused will be passed on to the next for a decision which may move the individual into the correctional system. After an individual has been found guilty on a legal basis, the court becomes an independent judicial decision-making mechanism. These decisions generally involve a determination whether or not an individual is likely to make a successful rehabilitation under alternate forms of service. Judges, professionally trained in the law are expected to make decisions that involve educational, psychological, and employment issues and decide on the alternative resources available in the community for a specific individual.

In the sentencing process, the array of problems presented in each case require varied professional skills and trained advisors which even the most highly motivated judges and courts most often do not possess. Therefore, what happens is that many cases are routed to the correctional institution as the most simple alternative. This is exemplified in cases where the family is inadequate and the only authority which can remove the child from an unfortunate environment is located in the Court. In 14 states there are children in detention care or group care.

There are many other instances where correctional institutes are recipients of persons who should be handled by other institutions. As Buell points out, the Juvenile Bureau of Police Departments has "fallen heir to a community-wide role for which it is likely to be ill-equipped." The discriminating identification of symptomatic evidence "requires a professional skill which the Juvenile Bureau does not possess." In many instances the Bureau has become a potential clearing point for the early discovery of psychological symptomatic behavior. Such cases might have been more appropriately referred to the non-correctional community. Many cases are routed to the Juvenile Court where children who should receive skilled diagnosis and treatment are dealt with by more admonition or where recreation activities take the place of therapy.

10. Correctional institutions have never been subject to public supervision or review by civilian boards. They have been answerable to governmental administrative structures. In a desire to protect themselves against criticism, they have not always been willing to open up their facilities. Inadequate financing has resulted in unattractive jail conditions. Jail personnel, operating as best they can with limited financial resources, fear public observation and criticism as threats to their methods and management. Hence, short-sighted institutional self-interest retards public involvement and interagency activity. This pattern is self defeating since corrections does not have sufficient involvement with local communities to make it possible to promote better public understanding and support of the necessity for increased financing and rehabilitation programs.

A Program for Integrating Corrections into the Family of Agencies

As has been described, agencies seemingly committed to large community goals nevertheless are motivated primarily by their own immediate program and its success. Resources, therefore, are exchanged and programs coordinated where these promise increased agency success and importance. Correction agencies do not seem to be in a position to offer to other agencies funds, personnel, facilities or prestige.

What solutions are there? The problem is how can the correction agency be brought into line with the other agencies of the community so that together they can cooperate in programs fulfilling social and community goals. No single solution can magically change the situation. Several steps must be taken to achieve this. In order to involve other agencies in joint planning for and the provision of services to the inmate population, the Department of Correction or the jail of any community must acquire resources which will enable it to engage in reciprocal or mutual relationships with the other agencies of a community.

Stigma

To establish a change in the public image of correction there must be public attention focused on the rehabilitative instead of merely custodial institutions. To accomplish this, corrections must mobilize public support for rehabilitation programs, and interest well known citizens who can bring to bear (lend) their personal prestige and position in the community for the benefit of the Department. This implies recruiting persons who are respected and powerful members of the community. To attract such citizens, corrections must give them a specific role in correction and a place in its policy-making. Powerful citizens will not lend their names or resources to institutions in which they play no part. One of the techniques used toward this end is to establish citizen boards or advisory committees to corrections. In the few instances where they now exist, they do not function satisfactorily because they are used merely as window dressing to ward off public disapproval. Boards are willing to ward off the public's poor opinion or unjustified criticism of an agency only when they are participating in an effort to improve a situation.

The stigma attached to corrections, the public indifference to and neglect of the prisons, and its lack of success in reform of inmates, make it difficult to attract powerful, or even ordinary support for necessary resources for corrections. Nevertheless, there are specific groups who can be interested in the Department if they are made aware of immediate or long range benefits which might be available to them from such participation.

This involves opening the doors of the Department of Corrections to review by civilians. This requires a change in attitude of correctional personnel. As already indicated, correctional personnel fear they may be criticized for unattractive conditions which exist in the Department of Correction.

Moreover, reciprocity is the key to community as well as agency inter-relationships. Citizen groups will make alliances through which they benefit from corrections. One group which such a mutual relationship can benefit is organized labor. Unions draw their strength from workers in minority groups. As many as twenty percent of males from minority groups have at some point been in jail. It is among the unions that corrections should and can find a strong ally.

Another important source for recruiting support is among citizens deeply concerned with their own children's vulnerability to delinquency. Many citizens achieving middle class status have emerged from sub-standard and poverty-stricken environments. Often children of such families have been trapped in situations which have led them into correctional institutions. This new middle class has a stake in seeing to it that corrections offers rehabilitative programs that will restore inmates to good citizenship. Here self interest can be utilized as support for the concept of corrections as not merely a custodial agency but as a rehabilitative agency.

The march of social change has antiquated services of some agencies. Corrections offers such agencies an opportunity to revitalize their programs in offering services basically essential for inmate rehabilitation. Such new programs can become sources of popular interest and support to these agencies by the community and involve community leadership.

Unless the other agencies can influence in a recognizable way what happens to the individual while in jail so as to influence the nature of his problems when he once again becomes part of their caseload, they have little basis for being involved with corrections. They have, therefore, little inducement to utilize their resources for improving the program of services within the jail. Alliances between corrections and such agencies must be such as will assure a sense of security and identity of the cooperating agency.

Finances

The financial resources of corrections are usually far below its needs, particularly in the field of rehabilitation. Many communities, markedly in the heavily populated urban centers, do not have a tax base structure with which to support essential services. Usually the jails are poorly financed in rehabilitation servcies because of the costs of custody. Therefore, while pressing local governments to provide more fully for the proper care and rehabilitation of jail inmates it is necessary, at the same time, to seek out all other possible financial resources.

Among the potential sources of funds, the foremost is the federal government. It is currently committed to supporting new programs for the betterment of all citizens, the poor, the ignorant, the handicapped, and those subjected to the correctional system. These programs are being instituted at regional and local levels. In the jails are vast populations that fall well into the categories of every conceivable need. In just this respect, the jail offers a tremendous laboratory for research in the fields of sociology, psychology, medicine, and education of those who have not made successful adjustments to society. The findings can be as important when applied to problems of those outside the jail as well as to the techniques of rehabilitating inmates. Grants by the federal government to universities, to corrections, and to recognized social agencies for research in jails can be one of the most rewarding undertakings.

Upgrading of Personnel

While working to achieve agency cooperation and public support, corrections must improve its personnel. In many senses, the upgrading of personnel is the major problem of most correctional systems. Traditionally, the mission of corrections has been limited to custody for which it was believed a low educational level of personnel would suffice. The overriding primacy of custody has made corrections a dead end for trained professional growth and advancement and limited the internal resources for in-service training. The stigma attached to corrections which is also attached to its personnel makes many reject employment in these institutions. It can be justly summed up by saying that personnel qualifications are low due to the low scale of financing, low prestige, and low salaries.

Once its personnel qualifications have been upgraded, an enormous step in advancing the redefinition of corrections will have been taken. However, there is a significant group of administrators who believe that raising salaries will upgrade personnel. This is not true. Several systems have raised salaries which were not attached to new position descriptions and position requirements. This resulted in existing personnel being reclassified under the new salary scales. They naturally understood these increments as rewards for their past performance. They were thus naturally more reluctant than ever to change their pattern of performance. In addition, the system had put staff into the position where they were earning more than their educational background could conceivably bring them in any other employment. As a result the staff was locked into the system making it difficult to recruit younger, better educated personnel. The lesson to be learned is that upgrading a system resulted from new position descriptions and requirements and not from increased salary schedules.

The introduction of personnel not committed to old systems is a key technique available to the administrator. In institutions which operate under civil service rules, it is difficult to change traditional habits and routines. There is no great turnover of staff which would make it possible to introduce radical changes through the newcomers. Moreover, senior personnel are apt to resent change in customary attitudes and practices. Despite these handicaps an administration committed to programs of rehabilitation can improve the quality of services through reorientation of personnel. This must begin with specific delineation of the new objectives of correctional administration to transforming each custodial service into a rehabilitation program in which each staff person has a new role which meshes within the whole program.

In-service training as well as return to formal educational institutions for certificates and degrees must serve as the basis for promotion and a meaningful career ladder.

Evaluating the Success Rate

Corrections success has been judged by the most negative of standards. The success criterion of corrections has always been different from that of other agencies. Centered on custody, success was measured in terms of the rate of escape from jail, whereas health and welfare agencies are judged by the success of their clients after completing the service program, e.g., education and success in the world of work. Under this custodial definition, corrections makes little effort to determine what happens to individual clients upon their release. The effect of this limited definition is evidenced by the energy expended to maintain a low rate of escapes as against the rate of recidivism. If corrections is to become a rehabilitative agency and to perform on a par with other social agencies, a shift in criteria for success is needed.

New Programs and Research

There is no single program which can be effective in rehabilitating all segments of the correctional population. In fact, most of the principles now recommended as bases for programs have yet to be tested in a concrete application. The immediate outcome of this situation must be a substantial investment in research both on the principles of correctional rehabilitation and evaluation of the outcomes of programs.

Research and evaluation studies "would be of greater usefulness if they were part of a systematic program of evaluation studies of alternative solutions within a community."

It is generally wasteful for single agencies to attempt evaluative research alone. They usually do not have the resources to devote to research nor the organizational capacity to undertake the manipulations required to reach conclusions about the effectiveness of programs.

For many reasons previously stated, it is difficult to attract research workers to this field of employment. The practical solution to this problem must center about cooperative relationships between correctional institutions and universities, the assembling places of research and training personnel. At this juncture the correctional institutions have resources which are attractive to universities--an important social problem, available subjects, and excellent laboratory facilities which lend themselves to research. Together, corrections and the university have the potential of obtaining funds for new programs.

There is another important advantage of such research activities to correctional systems. The prestige of these affiliations will raise corrections to the level of other agencies and give it some of the additional bargaining power it so badly needs. Utilizing jails for research purposes will offer opportunities for raising the morale and direct self improvement of staff. University affiliation for some correctional staff will be an enormous step in advancing the prestige of its personnel. The variation in professional training and levels of correctional staff with that of other agencies may be reduced by using jails for research. If personnel becomes mutually respected, it will hasten and assure liaison with other community agencies.

New programs, research, university affiliations, and prestige may significantly shift the agelong definition of corrections as a mere custodial institution. If corrections is to become a rehabilitation agency, both during and after custody, corrective education must be programmed to restore inmates to acceptable social behavior. To do this, corrections will require the help of other community agencies both in establishing the program within the jail and for effective continuity of aftercare upon the release of its prisoners. Corrections will have to open its doors to other agencies and adjust custodial requirements to the necessities of rehabilitation programs in the same measure that it must participate in the work of other agencies toward the solution of the problems of society.

SUMMARY OF
EXPERIMENTAL AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS
INVOLVING PRISONERS AND PAROLEES
funded by the Manpower Administration

In addition to being disadvantaged by ethnic background or family economics, many unskilled job seekers are further branded as undesirable because they have a prison record. Lack of success in finding a job once released or fear of failure in the work world are thought to be major factors contributing to failure on the outside.

The primary goal of all experimental and demonstration projects with prisoners, youthful or not, is to help offenders form favorable attitudes toward work before release. In addition, specialized job development, placement, and followup are emphasized in helping prisoners to make the transition "outside."

The Prison Population

Experimental and demonstration projects funded by the Manpower Administration have dealt with the varying employment problems of different segments of the prison population whose probation or parole is imminent. The Draper Correctional Center project in Alabama has concentrated on giving 110 first offenders in the 16-22 age group an incentive for staying out of prison. Project "Develop" in New York, dealing with 200 youths in the same age group, is also using training as an incentive for early release and as a basis for successful entry into the work world. The New York project, conducted by the city's Board of Parole, selects only underachieving parolees with normal or above average intelligence, who have a good chance for success if trained and encouraged.

One hundred and fifty unemployed and academically retarded school dropouts who are offenders on parole or probation form the target group for Springfield, Massachusetts Goodwill Industries' project for on-the-job training. An Archdiocesan project in Detroit employed and counseled 60 hard-core juvenile delinquents who had violated their probationary status one or more times. The Archdiocese of Detroit has also worked with 120 women prisoners 18-25 without severe psychological problems, to help those who have the fewest resources after release.

As in the above projects, programs dealing with a wider age spread in inmates concentrate on recruiting those who probably would not benefit from routine institutional vocational training. Project "First Chance" in South Carolina gives vocational training and "halfway house" support to 360 inmates ages 16-40 who have had little work experience and are from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Lorton, Virginia's "Project Challenge" tried to develop positive social attitudes as well as occupational skills in 170 prisoners age 17-35.

Innovations

Several demonstration features stressed in many of the projects seem to have significant implications for future work with disadvantaged persons having prison backgrounds.

I. Success on parole may be closely related to job adjustment and post-release supportive counseling.

It is felt that, without intensive support after release, even a prisoner who is highly motivated to succeed in work may drift back to the influence of his former environment and peer group. Pre-release training then, is not enough without followup encouragement. Both the South Carolina project and the Detroit "Fresh Start" program for women emphasize the use of halfway houses until the parolee has settled into a job and feels confident of success. A main feature of these programs is felt to be that contact and guidance are maintained by the same counselor (usually the placement counselor) throughout rehabilitation. The Massachusetts Goodwill, South Carolina, and Draper projects all emphasize the necessity of involving the prisoner's family and community in his post-release rehabilitation if possible. In the Draper project, local committees sponsor individual inmates who will be paroled to the community. Personal-social guidance is also given by these groups to the prisoners during their pre-release period. Subprofessional college students on field work programs serve as liaisons between the prison and community groups.

The Detroit program with delinquents stressed the value of a youth's close personal contact with his counselor--providing a strong male identification--to achieve successful interaction between the youthful offender and his society. In this project, the counselor spent some time on the job working with his charges and then visited them at home after hours and even for several months after the training period had ended.

II. A job-oriented training and placement program to enable the imprisoned to make a satisfactory adjustment from a penal setting to a stable position in the community can be conducted as a supplement to routine correctional activities.

The Detroit project with women prisoners reported excellent cooperation with regular prison staff and stressed that rehabilitation project people can adjust their counseling and training so as not to interfere with regular prison personnel and procedures.

An innovation in the parole system was instituted by several of the projects. The New York Board of Parole's project "Develop" attempts to motivate offenders to participate in its training projects by (1) giving them a chance to earn early release from custody to parole, and (2) in some cases, requiring participation as a special condition of parole. The Draper project's "pre-release" program makes inmates available prior to actual parole for personal job interviews and for personal-social guidance by community groups.

The addition to the correctional staff of a Parole Employment Specialist operating from an "employment evaluation and diagnostic center," for use both before and after parole, is a feature of the New York "Develop" project. Other projects, such as "Fresh Start" for women in Detroit, and "First Chance" in South Carolina employ the same idea of having pre-release training, job development, and halfway house support all provided by the same program staff.

III. Subprofessionals or indigenous persons may be used to help prisoners make the transition from custody to parole.

The Detroit youth project set out to provide a strong personal relationship between its parolees and their counselors--seminarians who worked under the guidance of professionals. The project staff found that the good example set by the subprofessionals, their enthusiasm for working alongside the trainees 4-5 hours a week, and their personal interest affected positive attitudes in the trainees and helped them progress toward resocialization, confidence, and good work habits.

The South Carolina project found that "mature" indigenous persons were best for trade instructors, as did the Detroit project for women, which found that prisoners had most respect for food service and nurse aide instructors who were cooks and nurse aides themselves.

IV. Job development and placement activities meet the greatest success when employers are approached in a businesslike manner with the assurance that parolees are skilled workers and will receive followup counseling.

Specific trades taught are those in which there is a large discrepancy between labor demand and work skills in an area. This helps to make the job developer's task easier for placing released prisoners. Even so, the prison projects emphasize a businesslike approach to employers to encourage them to hire persons with a prison record.

The Detroit "Fresh Start" project stressed the following procedure: (1) approach the employer at the highest level of policy making--not at the personnel department; (2) explain the prison training and placement program; (3) ask the employer if he will cooperate in informing the job developer of his openings; (4) send parolees to apply and explain their backgrounds; (5) inquire about the possibility of further on-the-job training; and (6) ask executives if they will serve on a Citizens' Advisory Board for employing ex-prisoners.

The Draper project reports that companies which hired the first group of released trainees are anxious to hire others. This project confirms an approximately 23% recidivism rate so far among training graduates who were placed on jobs after release. This compares with a 65-70% return to prison for men who were released before the training program began and who are now released without training. Another cause for optimism is that of the 23% recidivism rate, only about 5% was caused by new offenses, while the rest was the result of parole violations. The normal recidivist population for Draper is comprised of new offenders, while parole violation ranks low as a cause.

V. Because persons with criminal records are usually afraid to go through normal channels to advancement, such as schools or applications for employment, prison personnel can give specialized training, employment counseling, and job placement to help them gain confidence and the will to make good after release.

The Detroit "Fresh Start" program called this process "intramural work orientation" and "extramural job placement and encouragement for upgrading." In addition to teaching the prisoners basic skills and good work habits, the pre-release program prepares the inmates with communications skills, personal hygiene and motivation to work.

The Draper project pointed out that many prisoners are sorely in need of basic education, and the period of confinement before release is an excellent time to give it. Draper's Experimental Academic School could prepare deficient inmates for vocational training readiness in less than six months. One of this project's interesting features is its almost complete reliance on programed self-instruction techniques for teaching the basics in both preparatory and vocational courses. This is found to be effective in such courses as welding, barbering, bricklaying, electrical appliance repair, automotive service station mechanic attendant, radio-TV repair, and technical writing. Although the technical writing course was successful, it has since been dropped because of difficulty in placement.

Competition was introduced at Draper in the form of an "outstanding Student Award" to be given in each course every two weeks. This was found to be an effective incentive for the students to do well.

The New York Parole Board's project intends to enhance the employability of its parolees by significantly raising their literacy and achievement levels. The learning disabilities of each parolee are to be identified, and teachers help to establish realistic vocational and educational goals on this basis.

The Springfield Goodwill project concentrates on presentation of information about work and jobs and places each trainee in a prevocational work adjustment period, according to his potential before he is placed in on-the-job training. The Detroit youth project gave instruction in practical economics, budgeting and legal rights, in addition to providing a work experience by rotating youths in a number of types of summer jobs. The purpose of this project was to whet the interest of the juvenile delinquent to seek training or more education--to train him to want to be trained.

The South Carolina project follows 11 months of Basic and Vocational Education with three months of continued encouragement in a halfway house. Inmates have been prepared in auto mechanics, auto body repair, painting, carpentry, masonry, plumbing, electrical repair, welding, or heavy equipment operation.

Preparing inmates for eligibility for civil service jobs was one goal of the Lorton project. This training coincided with a continuing tendency of the Civil Service Commission to consider relaxation of restrictions on persons with criminal records. The application form for civil service employment has been amended to include a statement that a record of arrests does not automatically bar an applicant from employment. Other suggestions under consideration are provisional appointment of persons with records, so a delay discouraging to the applicant can be avoided.

Other skill training at Lorton, which incorporated formation of positive social attitudes and motivation, was done in the areas of automotive services, food services, building trades, building maintenance, general office and sales work, barbering, and painting.

The Detroit project with women found that high paying jobs like power sewing machine and clerical work offered more appeal for training than traditional low pay fields like nurse aide work.

The Bonding Demonstration Project

A unique feature of E & D efforts to alleviate the employment problems of prisoners was the approval of a special bonding demonstration project by Manpower Administration Order 2-66 of February 1966. This was made possible by a 1965 amendment to MDTA legislation. Special arrangements were negotiated by the Department of Labor with United Bonding Insurance Company to provide at least 1,700 persons with up to $2,500 a year in fidelity bonding. Maximum bonding is $5,000 per person.

Funds are available only for persons enrolled in Federally funded projects, or those who are seeking jobs through the public employment service, who are not commercially bondable. Justification for the project is that inability to obtain bonding required for employment because of police, credit or other records, may contribute to recidivism.

Demonstration bonding activities were administered initially in New York, Washington, D. C., Chicago, and Los Angeles by the Employment Service. Special manpower projects in these cities (Mobilization for Youth, N. Y.; JOBS, Chicago; Economic Youth Opportunity Agency, Los Angeles; United Planning Organization and Lorton Reformatory, Washington, D. C.) and the Draper Correctional Center in Alabama, also administer demonstration bonding.

In June 1967, the number of areas in which the program was being tested was expanded. From the purposefully limited initial 6 geographic areas and 6 special manpower projects, the program now covers 34 sponsors in 30 cities and in 14 States, with 5 of the sponsors operating on a statewide basis (New York, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, and California).

Although placements with bonding have been slow in starting, there has been a gradual increase in the use of this job development tool, and the project in its second year is making headway toward its real objective--exploring the problems of assisting in the placement of persons for whom employment "may be denied for reasons other than ability to perform." What seems to be a typical experience has been documented by two sponsors in the Chicago and California Employment Services. Both have been generating job placements on a ratio of 8 to 1; i.e., 8 out of 9 persons who have been termed "must be bonded" are placed without bonding because of doors opened by this program, while one is placed with actual bond having to be written for him by the program. Significantly, only 3 defaults were reported in the first year, each under $175.

Two sides effects of the program are:

1. It is getting employers to take another look at types of persons they previously rejected for jobs, and

2. It is leading employers to re-examine their own bonding companies'requirements. These, they are discovering, need not be as stringent as they had generally believed.

PRISON PROJECTS

PROJECT AND SPONSOR	DURATION	DESCRIPTION
Rehabilitation Research Foundation of Alabama (Draper Correctional Center)	8/31/64 to 2/28/68	Selection, testing, assessing, counseling, and vocational training for 16-22 year old institutionalized first offenders. Use of programmed learning and awards for "Outstanding Students."
National Committee for Children and Youth (Lorton) Washington, D. C. "Project Challenge"	6/30/66 to 11/30/67	Selection, intensified counseling, testing, evaluation, and vocational training of inmates 17-35 who could not profit from routine institutional training. Goal is to help in development of positive social attitudes and motivation, as well as train for civil service eligibility.
Springfield Goodwill Industries Springfield, Massachusetts	2/11/65 to 3/14/68	Training and employment of unemployed and academically retarded youthful offenders referred from court probation departments.
Archdiocese of Detroit Detroit, Michigan "Project Identify"	7/1/66 to 6/30/67	Job training program for hard-core juvenile delinquents to prepare them for inclusion in regular Neighborhood Youth Corps or other training programs. Gives strong personal contact with counselor to provide strong male identification.

PRISON PROJECTS
(Continued)

PROJECT AND SPONSOR	DURATION	DESCRIPTION
Archdiocesan Opportunity Program Detroit, Michigan Project "Fresh Start"	7/1/66 to 9/30/67	Explores potential of job training program (as supplement to routine correctional activities) for purpose of enabling imprisoned women to make a satisfactory adjustment from a penal setting to a stable position in the community. Extensive use of halfway house support after release.
New York Division of Parole Albany, New York Project "Develop"	6/15/66 to 3/31/68	Develops extensive program of educational and vocational training opportunities, counseling, and selective job placement for illiterate and underachieving parolees (age 16-21) with normal or above average intelligence. Purpose is to determine whether or not this approach will (1) significantly reduce delinquency and recidivism rates; (2) raise educational achievement levels and reduce number of illiterate parolees; and (3) enhance employability and social adjustment of parolees.
South Carolina Department of Corrections Columbia, South Carolina Project "First Chance"	6/30/66 to 6/30/68	Investigation of stability and benefits which may accrue from utilization of halfway house services in connection with vocational training programs for prisoners.

PRISON PROJECTS
(Continued)

PROJECT AND SPONSOR	DURATION	DESCRIPTION
Correctional Programs of the United Planning Organization Washington, D. C.	9/1/65 to 8/31/67	To prepare youthful misdemeanants for employment with rehabilitative services not available to them before because of their short periods of incarceration.
Philadelphia Youth Treatment Center Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	6/27/66 to 3/27/69	To demonstrate the effect of new services, concepts, and procedures for rehabilitation outside of an institutional setting on delinquent youths.
The Youth House, Inc. New York, New York	6/30/66 to 2/29/68	To demonstrate the application of primary and vocational life skills training to an out-of-school, out-of-work delinquent population.
The Vera Institute of Justice New York, New York	6/1/67 to 2/1/69	An experiment in getting to youth immediately after arrest but before adjudication to see if a remedial program can help them avoid a record.
Villa Loretto Peekskill, New York	6/30/67 to 6/15/68	A residential treatment program for 15-19 year old girls. To train socially maladjusted girls referred by the courts to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

★ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1968 O - 313-944